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INSIDE EIGHT PAGES FROM SUNDAY'S

The New York Times

IAF strikes after 5 soldiers wounded in Hizbullah attack

IAF warplanes blasted suspected Hizbullah targets north of the security zone yesterday following Hizbullah attacks which wounded five IDF soldiers. The soldiers, including three officers - one of them a major - were wounded in coordinated attacks in the security zone's northeastern sector yesterday morning.

They were the first IDF casualties since the understandings that ended Operation Grapes of Wrath came into effect on April 27. The attacks appeared to signal a renewed escalation by Hizbullah.

This follows a roadside bomb attack in the Jezzine enclave region on Friday in which a South Lebanese Army soldier died and a similar incident near the Beaufort Castle the previous day in which two SLA soldiers were wounded, one seriously.

The attacks yesterday began around 8 a.m. when gunmen opened fire with Sagger anti-tank missiles at an IDF convoy traveling on a route between IDF and

SLA positions at Rehan and Soujud. Maj. Mohammed Zirbawi, 21, from the Druse village Yerka, was wounded in the long-range assault on the convoy.

Zirbawi, from the IDF's Lebanese liaison unit, was initially reported to be seriously hurt, but his condition last night was said to be moderate.

Simultaneously, Hizbullah mortar units shelled the nearby Rehan outpost, apparently scoring at least one direct hit. Sec.-Lt. Tzahi Moshinski, 21, from Kedumim, and Sec.-Lt. Idor Rosenberg, 21, from Kfar Sava, were lightly hurt.

Another soldier, Sgt. Moshik Taub, 21, from Netanya, was also lightly hurt, while Sgt. Assaf Shwartz, 21, from Sde Eliezer, suffered moderate wounds.

The four are all from the Golani Brigade. All five wounded were treated in the field before being evacuated to Haifa's Rambam Hospital.

The wounded soldiers, all suffering from shrapnel wounds, underwent surgery yesterday and were reported to be

making satisfactory progress.

IDF gunners responded with heavy artillery shelling of suspected Hizbullah targets north of the zone, especially the area from where the mortars were fired.

The fierce exchanges reportedly delayed the initial evacuation of the wounded from the field because of danger of the rescue helicopters being hit.

A short time later, IAF warplanes went into action, blasting suspected Hizbullah targets in the Milita area of the Iqlim al-Toufah region, north of the zone.

The IDF spokesman said the pilots reported accurate hits and that all the planes returned safely to their bases. Reports from Lebanon said the planes staged two bombing runs and fired several missiles at the targets.

News agencies also reported that planes flew briefly over Beirut, parts of the Bekaa Valley, and areas of south

Lebanon yesterday - the first time since Operation Grapes of Wrath - without attacking any targets.

The IDF activity yesterday was seen as sending a clear message to Hizbullah and the Lebanese government that Israel will exercise its right to self-defense and has the power to respond wherever necessary.

Hizbullah seems intent on testing the limits of its interpretation of the new understandings and how far Israel will take its response.

The question remains, however, how Hizbullah will react if any civilians are hurt by IDF return fire or other responses to future attacks.

UNIFIL spokesman Timur Goksel was asked whether in his opinion yesterday's attacks constituted a breach of the new understandings.

"I wouldn't know. This is a matter for the monitoring committee. We are reporting the incidents, as part of our normal observation function, to the UN sec-

retary-general," he replied.

Hizbullah's recent wave of attacks also seemed designed to reaffirm the organization's fighting capabilities after the losses it suffered and the damage inflicted on its infrastructure during Operation Grapes of Wrath.

Furthermore, Hizbullah appears to be saying that any decisions regarding the region, especially the composition of the monitoring committee to supervise the new understandings and its parameters, will have to take the organization into account.

Military sources reiterated yesterday that Hizbullah's ability to carry out attacks should come as no surprise. They said that many activists had returned with their families to towns and villages north of the zone.

The sources noted that it is not difficult for Hizbullah activists to bring mortars, Saggars, and light weapons out of hiding places, fire them, and then to return to their regular day-to-day tasks.



Palestinian Authority President Yasser Arafat, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, and Jordan's King Hussein leave their joint press conference in Cairo yesterday.

Hussein: Jerusalem should be capital of Palestinian state

EGYPT, Jordan, and the Palestinian Authority yesterday called on Israel to withdraw from what they termed all occupied Arab territory and to renounce ideas of expansionism and domination.

King Hussein pledged to support Palestinians' demand for Jerusalem as the capital of a future state, allaying Palestinian fears that Jordan coveted the city.

The king also urged that the numerous holy sites in Jerusalem be shared by Jews, Christians, and Moslems.

"As for the holy shrines, we have always believed that they should be in the hands of the faithful," Hussein said at a Cairo news conference with Palestinian Authority President Yasser Arafat and Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak.

"But Jerusalem is Arab and God willing, our Palestinian brothers will be able to regain it as a symbol of peace," he said.

DAVID MAKOVSKY and news agencies

Hussein said last week that the holy places in Jerusalem should be outside any sovereignty.

Contrary to his original plan, Prime Minister Shimon Peres will not be visiting Amman before the elections, a top aide said last night.

Since it was known that Peres was eager to visit Hussein before the voting, this fuels speculation that the decision to delay the visit was taken in Amman, not in Jerusalem.

Jordanian public opinion was fiercely opposed to Israel's action in southern Lebanon, capped by the attack on Kana. There were parliamentary motions by the Jordanian opposition to cut ties with Israel, and the Independence Day celebration at the embassy in Amman was boycotted by many Jordanians.

It is uncertain whether Hussein also wanted to avoid a visit by Peres at this time so as not to be accused of seeking to influence the election's outcome.

Peres last night disclosed that President Hafetz Assad in the last few weeks rejected his suggestion of a summit meeting between the two, but has agreed in principle to a government-level meeting with Israeli officials. Peres told an audience at a campaign rally that Assad had told American mediators he now agrees "to a meeting on a decision-making level."

In a joint statement after a one-day summit in Cairo, Mubarak, Arafat, and King Hussein also said recent violence should not distract people from peace as a strategic objective.

Mubarak called the summit to give the Palestinians support in the final status negotiations and to see what the three can do to help speed up Israel's talks with Syria and Lebanon.

The three will meet again in Jordan in the first week of June, after the elections.

"The leaders concluded that in spite of the regrettable and bloody events which the region has recently seen, the peoples of the re-

(Continued on Page 2)

Hebron pullout set for mid-June

THE IDF will redeploy in Hebron a month from now, the cabinet decided yesterday after being informed by its top peace negotiator, Foreign Ministry Director-General Uri Savir, that the Palestinians will accept the delay.

The date was agreed upon by Savir and top Palestinian negotiator Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen) on Friday, after a week of parallel military talks between OC Central Command Maj.-Gen. Uzi Dayan and Palestinian Police head Gen. Haj Ismail. The IDF has already pulled out much of its equipment from the city.

Likud leader Benjamin Netanyahu said the redeployment "should be put off until the final settlement," Itim reported.

"Hebron is a very complicated problem. It is the oldest Jewish settlement in the world, and the Jewish community there is in great danger. We all remember what happened in 1929. It is preferable that such a complex matter be carefully considered at the final status talks," Netanyahu said.

According to Oslo 2, Israel was to leave about 85 percent of the city by March 28, remaining in

control of the areas inhabited by the estimated 400 Jewish settlers there. Prime Minister Shimon Peres suspended the pullout due to the spate of suicide bombings.

Sources said Peres did not want to pullback from Hebron before the elections so as not to alienate potential religious voters.

At the cabinet meeting, Environment Minister Yossi Sarid complained about the delay. While saying Jews have a right to live in Hebron, he called the current settlers there "provocateurs" who should be removed at once.

Peres replied that Sarid should be as flexible as the Palestinian Authority is on the need for a delay.

As a signal to the Palestinians that Israel is intent on ultimately redeploying from Hebron, it has agreed on the deployment of Norwegian observers there, just as the Temporary International Presence in Hebron was briefly deployed after the 1994 massacre at the Machpelah Cave.

The Civil Administration and

PA, meanwhile, began talks on transferring the remaining civil authority in Hebron. Israel initiated discussion on transferring the last spheres of responsibility, and the Palestinians promised that the Jewish Quarter will continue to receive municipal services.

Twenty Norwegian observers arrived yesterday, but they will remain in Jerusalem for the time being, Norwegian Foreign Minister Bjorn Gode said to arrive today for talks on the Norwegian role, Itim reported.

Although security will remain in the hands of the IDF in the area known as H-2, civil administration will be transferred to the PA. The PA will be able to build there as in any other part of the city subject to security considerations.

In recent months the PA has attempted to attract former Palestinian residents back to the Jewish Quarter, which was steadily abandoned as the military and settler presence increased. The campaign has not been very successful, but may gain more impetus after redeployment.

The remaining spheres to be transferred include absentee prop-

Live named to replace Yatom as PM's military aide

ARIEH O'SULLIVAN

THE IDF shuffled a number of top commands yesterday, appointing Maj.-Gen. Ze'ev Livne as military aide to Prime Minister Shimon Peres. He replaces Maj.-Gen. Danny Yatom, who is leaving the IDF to head the Mossad.

Brig.-Gen. Amos Malcha, 43, will become OC Ground Corps, succeeding Livne, and will be promoted to major-general. Brig.-Gen. Gabi Ashkenazi, 42, who was appointed deputy head of operations in the General Staff, will also be promoted to major-general. Peres approved the appointments, scheduled to take effect in the coming weeks.

Both Malcha and Ashkenazi were favored by Chief of General Staff Lt.-Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak over more senior officers, who have reportedly complained they are being forced out by Shahak.

Arab parties make no promises to Peres

PRIME Minister Shimon Peres held marathon meetings with leaders of the Arab parties yesterday, in an effort to persuade them to support him in the prime ministerial race.

Labor sources said they expect the Arab leaders to call on their constituents to support Peres in the next few days.

For the past two weeks, Labor has been making intensive efforts to mend the rift with the Arab community caused by Operation Grapes of Wrath.

Accompanied by other Labor ministers, Peres met with MK Abdel Wahab Darawshe and the leaders of the Islamic List, and the leaders of Hadash, and later

with Ahmed Tibi, head of the Arab Movement for Change.

The Arabs presented Peres with a list of demands, including the release of Hamas leader Sheikh Ahmad Yassin, completing the evacuation of Hebron, continuing the peace process, speeding up the final status talks, lifting the closure of the territories, and equal rights for Israeli Arabs.

"After a 90-minute meeting with Mr. Peres and seven ministers, we did not promise him we would vote for him," Darawshe said. "We told him we will go back to our elected institutions and study the results of the meeting."

He said Peres promised to improve living conditions for Israel's 850,000 Arabs, who complain of discrimination against them - particularly in development fund-

ing - by consecutive governments.

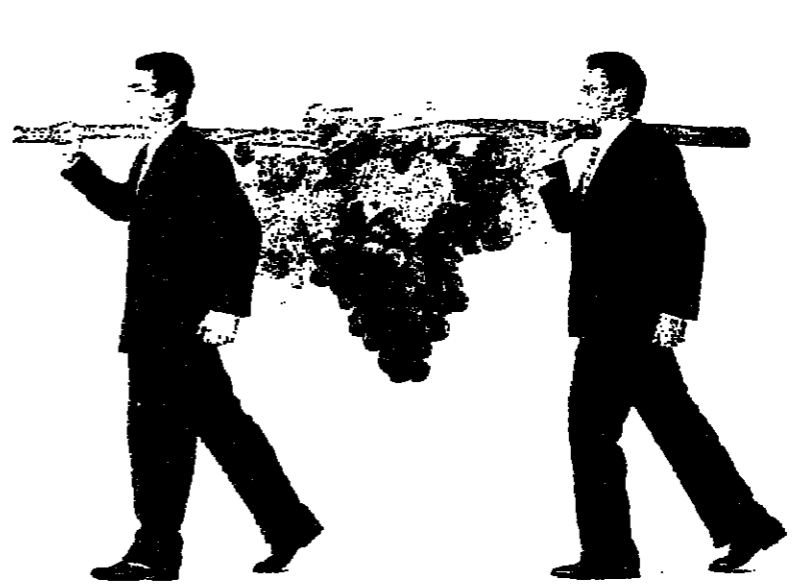
At a meeting with some 200 Arab notables, council heads, and businessmen on Saturday, Peres apologized for the Kana shelling, in which some 100 Lebanese civilians were killed.

He said that the families of Hizbullah terrorists were taking shelter in the compound, and the IDF had no idea there were civilians there. "Only a moron and an evil person would shoot at civilians. No Israeli would have done it. I'm sorry for what happened."

Peres said that not voting for prime minister would mean "half a vote for [Likud leader Benjamin] Netanyahu."

The notables expressed support of Peres. "We won't let fanatics, the merchants of nightmares, dictate our lives. We'll go hand-in-hand onward to peace," poet Samih Kassem said.

A balancing act, Page 3



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הצולות

Likud: Latest IDF Lebanon casualties prove that Peres has failed again

THE Likud yesterday heaped scorn on prime minister Shimon Peres for "his palpable failure to secure a sound agreement after the Grapes of Wrath operation. Peres has failed again," declared an official Likud communiqué.

The Likud made its charge following the wounding of five IDF soldiers in Lebanon yesterday.

Likud chairman Binyamin Netanyahu argued that the "attacks could only be expected. It was a matter of time. According to the understandings contracted by Peres, the Hizbullah was entitled to continue its onslaughts on

SARAH HONG and LIAT COLLINS

our soldiers. This is a situation with which we must not reconcile. We need to put into operation a different policy, one which will make sure that Hizbullah will never again be able to act from southern Lebanon against either our soldiers or civilians."

"The casualties in Lebanon prove that Operation Grapes of Wrath sprouted sour grapes which suit the unsuitable defense minister [Shimon Peres]," said Thomet Leader Rafael Eitan yesterday. Eitan said the understandings

reached at the end of the campaign give attack advantages to Hizbullah while exposing IDF soldiers and putting them on the defensive.

Eitan is gathering signatures from MKs for a special Knesset plenum discussion on the understandings with Hizbullah. The discussion would be held next week.

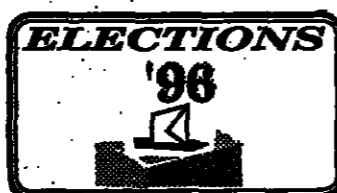
Coalition chairman Ra'anan Cohen said in response: "The only ones on the defensive and in trouble are Rafil [Eitan], Gandui [Moledelet leader Rehavam Ze'evi] and their opposition friends who cynically exploit every firing on our forces for cheap election propaganda."

Cabinet approves over NIS11m. to develop Kiryat Sefer housing

THE cabinet accepted Housing Minister Binyamin Ben-Eliezer's proposal to invest NIS 11.647 million to develop housing in Kiryat Sefer, during their meeting yesterday. The town, located near Modi'in, is being touted as a solution to the haredi housing shortage.

"This matter has gone on for a long time. The treasury has not hesitated to fulfill this obligation, but it began two years ago and has no connection to the elections," Finance Minister Avraham Shohat said.

Shohat's claim that the decision was not connected to the elections upset Environment Minister Yossi



Sarid proposed that Kiryat Sefer residents be given the same conditions for buying apartments as are offered to discharged soldiers. However, only Labor and Social Affairs Minister Ora Namir (Labor) and Meretz ministers supported his proposal.

In response to the decision, Peace Now called the move an unnecessary and harmful attempt to buy votes, and said the government was acting "as if Binyamin Netanyahu had won the elections."

They noted that Prime Minister Shimon Peres said only last week that renewing settlement will be the end of the peace process. (Tim)

Sarid, who said that haredim should not be given preference over other citizens and accused Labor of trying to buy votes.

"They changed the government into the Labor campaign staff," Sarid said. "I hope the next government will want and be able to cancel this disastrous decision."

NRP platform: Expand Jewish presence in Hebron

THE National Religious Party's central committee yesterday approved the party's platform for the upcoming elections, and included a last-minute section supporting expansion of the Jewish presence in Hebron.

Party activists said the platform, prepared last weekend by the party's Knesset candidates, was a major victory for the hawkish element led by MK Hanan Porat.

The platform includes a call to move immediately for direct talks with the Palestinians about a permanent solution, bypassing the Oslo accords. The NRP would oppose the establishment of a Palestinian state between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean, and supports declaring Israeli sovereignty over greater Jerusalem - Gush Etzion, Ma'aleh Adumim, and Givat Ze'ev.

It also backs widening the Jewish presence in eastern Jerusalem, and establishing sovereignty over the settlements in Judea and Samaria, as well as giving the IDF permission to operate anywhere necessary, including all of Judea, Samaria, and Gaza.

"We see the platform as just a stage in a future plan to strengthen the Jewish community in Judea and Samaria, with the intent of reaching a total of one million Jews in Judea and Samaria in the next four years," Porat said.

The platform also refers several times to the need to maintain the Jewish nature of the country, including strengthening the status of the Chief Rabbinate, and opposition to taking away its powers regarding conversion.

Among the reservations raised was a proposal by Rafael Ben-Natan, of the party's moderate wing, calling for the NRP not to declare its preferred candidate for prime minister, so as to leave the door open for joining a future Labor government. Another proposal calling for changing the status of the Temple Mount and revoking the Moslem Waqf's powers was also rejected.

(Tim)

CEC censors parts of election broadcasts

SEVERAL party's broadcasts were partially censored by the head of the Central Elections Committee last night.

CEC chairman Justice Theodor Orr ruled out sections of broadcasts by Meretz, Likud and the National Religious Party, the Third Way, and the Arab Movement for Change. He also ordered Moledelet to delete one word.

The reason behind most of the cuts was the use of soldiers in uniform. This was the first time since the broadcasts started on Wednesday that Orr has ordered cuts.

Liav Collins



Members of the Labor Party's Young Guard get ready to set out on a motorcycle rally from Kikar Rabin in Tel Aviv to the Kinneret. (Yisrael Hladan)

Peres woos Israeli Arabs, but won't alienate Jews

COMMENT

DAVID MAKOVSKY

Labor officials are more optimistic that Arab voters will overcome their anger at Operation Grapes of Wrath, especially the Kana shelling, and still vote Peres than a year ago. A Channel 2 poll published over the weekend said 77 percent of Israeli Arabs will vote. 94% of them for Peres.

Therefore, Labor is not worried that the Arabs will vote for Binyamin Netanyahu, but would like some endorsements from leading

Arab figures to ensure that Arab voters don't stay home on election day.

Lost in quid-pro-quo is the broader issue - the growing importance of the Arab vote. One hears virtually no discussion about a "Jewish majority," since the Yitzhak Rabin - who used this term himself before the 1992 election - termed anyone who spoke in such terms "racist."

Arabs are even more central to the political equation with the new system of direct election of prime minister, since they are a crucial to any candidate seeking to garner 51% of the vote and avoid a runoff.

Meimad activists supporting Yisrael Ba'aliyah

BATSHEVA TSUR

FIFTY Meimad activists, including some of the moderate religious movement's leadership, have expressed support for Natan Sharansky's Yisrael Ba'aliyah party.

"Yisrael Ba'aliyah is a centrist party which represents basic Zionist values and warm ties to Judaism without religious coercion," one Meimad activist said. "It projects political fair play and can be a fitting home for Meimad voters."

Meanwhile, Sharansky has called for the establishment of a human rights watch for the Middle East along the lines of that set up in the Soviet Union following the Helsinki Accords. Sharansky was one of the initiators of the original group. He was speaking yesterday, the 20th anniversary of its establishment.

"As a democracy which is negotiating with totalitarian regimes," he said, "Israel is in a similar situation as the West was in 1976... Experience has taught us not to put our trust in nondemocratic regimes, such as that in Syria and that of the Palestinians today, particularly when we are expected to make significant concessions with regard to security."

NEWS IN BRIEF

Meretz wants Shas leader in Rishon Lezion

Meretz Knesset faction head Ran Cohen yesterday asked Attorney-General Michael Ben-Yair to investigate Yeshayahu Malka, head of the Rishon Lezion Religious Council. Cohen said he had obtained internal Shas documents showing that Malka was the head of the Shas branch in Rishon and had listed the religious council's phone and fax numbers as those of the local Shas headquarters.

Given the recent scandal concerning senior Labor figures' use of Histadrut facilities for campaign purposes, this should be treated most seriously, Cohen said.

Jerusalem Post Staff

Habad orders followers to vote Netanyahu

The Habad-Lubavitch rabbinical court has ordered its followers to vote for Binyamin Netanyahu for prime minister. The decree was made in order to "preserve the Land of Israel," Berke Wolf, a leader of the movement here, said yesterday. The decree does not mention Netanyahu by name, but calls him the "right-wing" candidate.

AP

Absentee voters to start balloting this week

Merchant navy sailors and members of the diplomatic corps will begin voting on Thursday. The arrangements were discussed yesterday when members of the Central Elections Committee visited a Zim ship docked at Haifa. Some 300 sailors serving on 19 ships are expected to be at sea on election day. Some 3,000 diplomats and other official emissaries will also be able to vote at offices of Israeli representatives around the world.

The early voting is an attempt to ensure that the ballots reach the Central Elections Committee in time to be counted.

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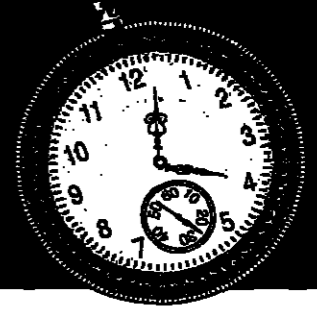
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Congress party in India backs left-wing coalition

MOSES MANOHARAN
NEW DELHI

INDIA'S defeated Congress party stood by its caretaker Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao yesterday and decided to support a left-wing coalition's efforts to form a new government.

Congress deputies unanimously re-elected Rao as the party's leader, then instructed him to open talks with the National Front-Left Front (NF-LF) with a view to blocking Hindu nationalists from taking power.

The right-wing Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) emerged as the largest party in general elections but fell well short of an outright majority in a hung parliament.

Voters dealt Congress, undermined by corruption charges, an unprecedented setback.

Both the BJP and the NF-LF, a loose coalition of center-left and socialist parties, have told President Shankar Dayal Sharma they will have enough support from allies to form a government. But neither group has shown the arithmetic which would prove its ability to win a vote of confidence.

Both the NF-LF and Congress indicated they were willing to put deep differences aside to prevent the BJP, accused by critics of favoring Hindus over Moslems, from taking power for the first time.

"The Congress party has decided that the new government will be made up of secular MPs," party spokesman Ved Prakash said, using the political term for forces aligned against the BJP.

Rao, who resigned on Friday but stays on as caretaker, fended off criticism from party leaders who held him responsible for Congress's poor showing at the polls. He then won unanimous reelection to the party's top post.

Congress deputies agreed the party would support the NF-LF's efforts to win power but not join the government, senior party member Rajesh Pilot told Reuters. (Reuters)



Liberian civilians in Monrovia, hoping to leave their war-torn country, wait for a small Russian fishing boat to be repaired so they can set sail for Ghana. (Reuters)

Ghana relents, allows Liberian refugee ship in

VINCENT TSAS
TAKORADI, Ghana

GHANA relented yesterday and said that an old freighter packed with sick and desperate Liberian war refugees would be allowed to dock after earlier being blocked.

But to the west, in Sierra Leone, up to 1,500 refugees on board a fishing boat which fled Liberia were ordered out of Freetown harbor.

The freighter Bulk Challenge, which has been at sea for a week with nearly 4,000 Liberians on board, was now heading back to the Ghanaian port of Takoradi.

"The vessel is running out of fuel so on humanitarian grounds they are bringing it back to refuel and to give medical assistance to passengers," one port official said.

Witnesses said naval units were erecting tents in readiness, but it was not clear if Ghana would enforce its decision that only non-Liberians would be allowed to disembark.

Aid workers estimated that 20,000 Liberians fleeing war could now be at sea seeking sanctuary.

Earlier yesterday, Ghanaian authorities used massive floating cranes at Takoradi to block the freighter.

The cranes were moved into the path of the vessel shortly after aid workers said shooting had been heard and that it appeared desperate refugees had overwhelmed the captain and forced him to try to dock at Takoradi.

"The captain tried to enter the port and the navy got very nervous," a witness at the port said.

"Ghanaian navy and port authority crews then moved floating cranes to block off the harbor entrance. The ship came very close and we could see the passengers but the captain decided not to try."

As the freighter headed back offshore, Ghanaians on Takoradi quayside chanted at the refugees: "Rebels, go home. Go back to Liberia, we have no chop [food] here."

The fishing boat Victory River sailed into Freetown on Saturday but authorities said it had no clearance to dock and ordered it to anchor 15 miles offshore, aid workers said.

"We understand that the refugees are badly

in need of water and food, and there are also reports of diarrhoea on board," a Red Cross worker said, putting the number of refugees at 1,500.

In Geneva, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees spokesman Rupert Colville said there were 700 refugees on the vessel, the vast majority of them women and children.

Aid workers said 20,000 Liberians could now be in vessels in choppy West African waters and they were working out plans to monitor the coast for those in distress.

Earlier a doctor reported the first death from the illnesses rife on board the Bulk Challenge.

Aid workers said the refugees were getting desperate because of the death and a lack of food and water which was driving some to drink sea water.

"One woman has died of haemorrhage and there is an epidemic of diarrhoea, pneumonia and dysentery on board," Dr. Philip Adapoc of medical charity Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF) told Reuters near Takoradi. (Reuters)

Thirteen Zairians killed in attack on aid convoy

KIGALI, Rwanda (AP) - Thirteen Zairians were killed and 13 others wounded in an attack on an aid convoy near a Rwandan refugee camp in eastern Zaire, a UN refugee official said yesterday.

"Clearly, these were not bandits but people who meant to kill and destroy property," UN High Commissioner for Refugees spokesman Paul Stromberg said in Kigali.

Unidentified attackers fired rocket-propelled grenades and bullets at a convoy led by three trucks delivering food to refugees for the charity CARE International at dusk Friday, he said.

All of the dead and 12 of those wounded were in a private truck which had tagged along at the end of the convoy, he said.

A grenade ignited a load of corn-soya blend carried by one CARE truck, blowing it up. An aid worker was slightly wounded.

The trucks were attacked just south of the Kibumba refugee camp, 25 kilometers north of Goma.

Russians guard Chechen capital, clash with rebels

GROZNY, Russia (Reuters) - Russian forces mounted tight security in the Chechen capital Grozny yesterday ahead of a promised visit by President Boris Yeltsin, but elsewhere in the rebel region fighting flared between troops and separatists.

The OMON elite police, entrenched at checkpoints on the main crossroads or driving through the streets of the devastated town, stepped up patrols in Grozny after Yeltsin announced on Saturday he would arrive soon to press a peace deal.

But in contrast to the comparative calm in Grozny, where rebel attacks on Russian posts have become routine, Russian news agencies reported increasing military activity by both troops and rebels in other parts of the North Caucasus region.

Tension reigns in Sarajevo suburb after fire exchange

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina (AP) - Gunfire between Moslems and Bosnian Serbs erupted for a second straight night in a Sarajevo suburb split by the former front line, NATO officials said yesterday.

The shooting broke out Saturday evening in the western suburb of Dobrinja, said Maj. Herve Gourmelon, spokesman for the NATO-led peace implementation force in Sarajevo.

The shooting showed that the two former warring sides still fail to agree on mutually acceptable adjustments to the boundary line drawn in the Dayton peace plan.

It was not known which side fired first, but Gourmelon blamed "youngsters" in the suburb for stirring tensions that led to the shooting. No further details were available.

"I wouldn't call this peace," said Haris Musinovic, a 31-year resident of Dobrinja. "I would call it nothing but terror..."

"Tensions, shootings and explosions every night. Where is a difference between this peace and the previous war?"

Tensions also were high in the demilitarized zone separating government and Bosnian Serb forces after the surrender near Zvornik in northeastern Bosnia of seven apparently Moslem men accused by Serbs of terrorist killings.

Bosnian Serbs officials promised to let international organizations keep a close eye on their treatment of the seven men. Armed with pistols and grenades, the seven threw themselves on the ground and surrendered to US soldiers in Bosnian Serb territory Friday afternoon, US officers said Saturday.

No bodies found in jet crash

MIAMI (Reuters) - A day after the Florida Everglades' swamp swallowed up a DC-9 with 109 people aboard, rescue workers had recovered no bodies and no pieces of the jet larger than a baseball cap, officials said yesterday.

Airboats fanned out and crews prepared to build a gravel road through the muddy, alligator-infested waters to reach the remote crash site.

Authorities did not expect to find any survivors from ValuJet Flight 592, which ploughed into the swamp after taking off from Miami International Airport on Saturday afternoon.

"There's no place to hide for the victims," Metro-Dade Fire Rescue spokesman Luis Fernandez told reporters. "There's so much water and so much muck out there, we really don't know what is left of the plane."

The shallow, slow-moving waters and thick mud hid what wreckage remained of the jet.

Divers searched the murky waters again yesterday, hoping to find the jet's flight data and voice recorders to provide clues to the crash.

The Everglades cover more than 5,180 sq. km of South Florida, and is a wetlands home to alligators, rare birds, the endangered Florida panther and manatees.

Air safety officials refused to speculate on what caused the crash. Robert Francis, vice chairman of the National Transportation Safety Board, sought to play down the safety record of the 27-year-old aircraft saying, "We don't have any more concerns about the DC-9 than any other aircraft."

Shortly after takeoff, the pilot radioed the air traffic control tower to report smoke in the cockpit, according to the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA). The DC-9 turned around and crashed 24 km northwest of Miami.

Diana and Charles still squabbling over divorce settlement

LONDON (AP) - Princess Diana has abandoned plans to become a roving ambassador. Prince Charles reportedly told a friend he is heading for "the bloodiest divorce in Britain." Charles' aides want Prime Minister John Major to mediate in the divorce squabble.

Yesterday's British newspapers offered a host of new - but unconfirmed - reports about the state of the royal couple's divorce negotiations, which by most accounts are stalled.

According to *The Sunday Telegraph*, Diana has told friends she might buy property abroad and live overseas for parts of the year, which would rule out being a goodwill ambassador. Instead, she will concentrate on visiting hospitals and charity fund-raising, it said.

The *Sun* started the latest round of leaks Friday with a report that Diana told the queen that unless Charles stops haggling she will make him wait until December 1997 for a divorce.

Diana can hold out until then because under English law, if either party contests a divorce, the other party must wait five years from the time of separation to end the marriage. The royal couple formally separated in December 1992.

The *Sunday Telegraph* said Diana's strategy "appeared to have paid off" because lawyers for the royal couple are back in communication.

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Esther Wachsman (NRP)
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Thursday,
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FOR YOUNG ENGLISH SPEAKERS
Beit Daniel, 62 Rehov Bnei Dan
Avraham Poraz MK (Meretz)
Amnon Neubach (Labor)
Rachel Sylvetzky (NRP)
Danny Danon (Likud)
Eli Kashdan (Yisrael Ba'Aliya)

and RA'ANANA, Sunday, May 19, BEERSHEBA, Sunday, May 19,
JERUSALEM, Tuesday, May 21, TEL AVIV, Tuesday, May 21,
CARMIEL, Tuesday, May 21, NAHARIYA, Wednesday, May 22,
HAIFA, Monday, May 27. Full details shortly.

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Thursday, May 16, 7:30 p.m.
Jerusalem Day official ceremony on Ammunition Hill (English and Spanish), with the participation of the Chief of Staff, Lt.-Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak, Mayor of Jerusalem Ehud Olmert, and other dignitaries.

Friday, May 17, 11:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.
A "Jerusalem Street Carnival," with the participation of actors, dance groups, choirs, bands, clowns, etc., will take over the streets in the center of town.

Friday, May 17, 3:00 - 5:00 p.m.
"Rejoice with Jerusalem" - a parade of solidarity departing from Safra Square and culminating in an assembly at the Western Wall. With participation of the Minister of Religious Affairs, Prof. Shimon Shetreet, Jerusalem Sephardi Chief Rabbi Shalom Mashash, and other dignitaries.

Saturday, May 18, 9:00 p.m.
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Jerusalem Post

Theater rides out the storms of Russian history

ACTOR and director Oleg Yefremov and the Moscow Art Theater (MAT) are like a snail and its shell. He's been the MAT's artistic director for almost as long as anyone can remember, although, he says, he was only formally appointed to the post in 1970. He thinks that he decided to go on the stage because, aged six, he met Yassily Lugivsky of the MAT, one of Russia's most famous actors at the time. Yefremov, the theater and about a third of the 60-strong company are playing our three major cities with Chekhov's *The Seagull* (this production is from 1980), *Teibele* and *Her Derision* (1995) by Isaac Bashevis Singer. Mounting a production of *Teibele*, a story of superstition, lust and love set in a Jewish shtetl,

would never have been possible when Yefremov took over the theater. "The political atmosphere never determined our aesthetics," he says, but the censors were always there before every premiere, "so we had to devise ways of getting the show through. For instance, *The Iron Workers* by Gennady Bokarev (1975) had a subject that appealed to the government because its heroes were the people, the working class. In reality the hero was an anti-hero, the very first in Russian theater, but we played down that aspect for the censors, so the show was approved. "We never got into trouble, but yes, sometimes we were obliged to change things." Oleg Yefremov was born in Moscow in 1949, and grew up in

what he ironically calls "a very theatrical time. I was a great dreamer and I wanted to realize my dreams." He studied acting at the Moscow Academy and became a company member of the MAT's children's theater, where he also first tried his hand at directing. In 1955 he collected a group of young actors and started the *Sovremennik* - it performed here last year - which quickly became independent of its parent company, the MAT. Most of Moscow's theaters, Yefremov maintains, were or are connected to the MAT in one way or another, including a little institution called Habimah founded there in 1918. IN 1896, Konstantin Stanislavsky was already one of the most famous actors and directors of his

day. Vladimir Nemirovich Danchenko was a successful playwright and theater critic. They inaugurated the MAT in 1898 with *The Seagull* by a shy doctor called Anton Chekhov and the legend was born. Stanislavsky's naturalistic acting style has influenced the entire course of 20th-century theater and the MAT is his temple. That was the problem for Yefremov when he took over in 1970. The theater "had fossilized, stagnated and was steadily losing its audience. We continue in the Stanislavsky theater tradition, but time defines theater language and so we've adapted. "Human nature in all its aspects was important to Stanislavsky and

so it is to me. People sometimes accuse us of conventionalism, but it's not true. We try never to repeat ourselves because we cannot become a museum." Under Yefremov's leadership the MAT bounced back. They started to produce young and often controversial Russian playwrights like Alexander Gelman, Leonid Zorin and Mikhail Roshin. That's when they had to be especially inventive vis-a-vis the censors. They had seen Roshin's *Valentin and Valentina* and "dithered for a whole month because the play's heroes came from different social classes and how could that be in a classless society?" But the then minister of culture, Ekaterina Furtsseva, liked the play and it was allowed. Today Yefremov's son, Mikhail, who plays Treplev in *The Seagull*,

is in charge of developing the new crop of young playwrights. When glasnost was declared, censorship died, and since the USSR collapsed "there's been an explosion of new writers as varied and often as raucous as rock-and-roll bands," he says. Mikhail looks like his father. They have the same twinkling blue eyes, the same laughlines, the same large heads and hands, but Yefremov looks a little older than his 47 years. His hair is thinner and combed forward across his skull. He has a smoker's cough. He speaks solemnly, deliberately and then, all of a sudden, a big grin flashes out and he'll gesture broadly to illustrate a point. When I ask him whether he's pleased that Mikhail has followed in his footsteps, he said "Let him

go where he wants." Yefremov's daughter Anastasia is a theater historian. She and her brother each have three children and "six grandchildren are enough for one poor Oleg Yefremov." Since he took over the MAT, Yefremov has directed about 30 plays, including all Chekhov's, and Pushkin's *Boris Godunov* in which he also played the title role, one of his favorites. He still acts, on stage and on film, "but I don't remember how many parts I've done. Does it matter?" Next year he'll direct *Three Sisters*, one of the eight or so new productions the MAT does yearly on its two stages. Chekhov, he says, "is limitless. He always gives everybody a chance and so something is always new."

Tongue-tied Shakespeare

FILM REVIEW
ADINA HOFFMAN

OTHELLO
★★1/2

Directed by Oliver Parker. Adapted by Parker from the play by William Shakespeare. Hebrew title, *Otello*, 123 minutes. English dialogue, Hebrew subtitles. Parental guidance strongly suggested.

Othello — Laurence Fishburne
Desdemona — Irene Jacob
Iago — Kenneth Branagh
Cassio — Nathaniel Parker

Of all Shakespeare's tragedies, *Othello* seems the least likely candidate for a new and improved screen version.

In his magnificent 1952 horror-movie rendition of the play, Orson Welles's *Moor* was a lumbering, passive creature whose jealousy toward his wife, Desdemona, took the slow and monstrous form of a cancer quietly spreading.

Thirteen years later, Laurence Olivier's performance in the filmed National Theater production was as flamboyant, huge and extravagant as Welles's was cerebral. His Othello had a lustiness and swagger about him that made his descent into anguish all the more wrenching. Here was a cocky general who had never known loss, suddenly faced with the most personal sort of defeat.

Laurence Fishburne, the star of Oliver Parker's new *Othello*, at least looks the role. His dark pate shaved, gold hoops in his ears, a swirl of tattoo near his temple, he's the first black man to portray Shakespeare's *Moor* on screen. (Paul Robeson and James Earl Jones played the part on the stage.) In this literal sense, his performance has a freshness and immediacy that the earlier actors' lacked.

But in almost all other respects, Fishburne's Othello is a faint shadow of his predecessors'. Granted, giants like Welles and Olivier are hard acts to follow. On his own terms, however, Fishburne — who has never attempted Shakespeare before — simply doesn't command the range or presence the role requires. Though his work here is valiant, it's limited in the extreme: he strikes a single, men-

acing note, and when the time comes for deep shifts in tone, he simply swells that one note to a crescendo.

From the very outset, he seems like a potential wife-beater, an interpretation that lessens the tragedy considerably. In an early (tacked-on and ridiculous) sex scene, Desdemona cowers as she watches her husband undressing; the first time Iago warns him to "look to your wife," Othello is ominously cleaning his gun. Instead of a trusting man lured gradually into a web of paranoia by Iago's heartless machinations, Fishburne's Othello comes across as something of a loose cannon, sneering and bellowing before he has real cause. He leaves himself no room to maneuver.

Even more serious is the problem of Shakespeare's language, which neither Fishburne nor Desdemona, played by the Swiss actress Irene Jacob (who was so lovely and open in Kieslowski's films), seem comfortable speaking. The result is a bit confusing. While Fishburne's presence is obviously supposed to bring new urgency and truth to the play's racial themes, Parker's version actually feels much more contrived than in earlier versions where the hero wore greasy Al Jolson-styled blackface. When Jacob and Fishburne come together, they don't talk; they take turns reciting lines.

Kenneth Branagh, on the other hand, nearly sings his part. As Iago, he exudes verbal force and understanding — and walks off with the movie. Mean as it sounds to say so, the villain's weaselly, power-hungry traits suit the actor well.

And instead of reining Branagh in, Parker just hands him the picture. Iago's scheming soliloquies are spoken directly into the camera in tight close-up, a conspiratorial device which brings us nearer to Iago than anyone else in the film and which serves the inscrutable purpose of making Othello look dumb. Why, if it's so easy for us to see what's coming, doesn't Othello?

Of course, part of the tragedy as Shakespeare conceived it derives from this same ironic audience privilege; but since Branagh's Iago is already so much nimbler, smarter and more complex than



Laurence Fishburne gets in over his head in his first attempt at a play by the Bard.

Fishburne's Othello, there seems something a little cruel about plotting behind the hero's back in this scene-stealing fashion.

Then again, the tragedy as Shakespeare conceived it may not be Parker's main concern. The director has been quoted as say-

ing that he meant to fashion from the play a "charged erotic thriller." His sights set that low, he almost succeeds.

Putting his John Hancock on a familiar opera role

BARITONE John Hancock is too big for Mozart. "It breaks my heart that I've never done a Mozart opera," says the American singer, who is over two meters tall.

"But they keep telling me that I'm too big for Papageno, and my height would confuse the symmetry in *Così fan tutte*."

He notes that opera hierarchy usually ensures that the tenor be the tallest person on stage "and I make them look even shorter. Someday I'd like to do roles like Macbeth and I don't think it's a problem for Iago to be taller than Othello."

Height won't be an issue when Hancock performs the role of Orest in the Israel Chamber Orchestra concert performance later this week of Gluck's *Iphigenie en Tauride*.

"At other times, being quite tall has its good points. Generally speaking my height is a great advantage; it's a very good visual asset to the audience, they always see me. And many directors like to use the height and add to the comedy on some productions with it."

Growing up in Los Angeles in the '70s, Hancock was never exposed to opera. "There was no opera there at the time. My mother took me and my sister to concerts a lot in the Mehta years."

"It was a magical time to be going to the L.A. Philharmonic. But there was no opera in the

house. In fact I didn't go to see an opera until I was 19, when I saw *Aida* in Verona."

Hancock didn't set out on a musical career although he had a dream of becoming a concert pianist.

"I studied French literature but was still very interested in education. But in choirs I always got the solos and people told me I should do opera."

Living and working in New York and looking for some extra activity on the weekend, "I entered a Juilliard extended division program and that was a great introduction to singing."

And now Hancock's career is for the most part opera. "It's difficult for young singers to do concert work before your career is established. I'd like to do concerts too, but the way to get a career going is to do opera."

Hancock is no stranger to Israel, having appeared in several New Israeli Opera productions, most recently as Malatesta in *Don Pasquale* earlier this season.

The Orest role is one he's performed many times. "Concert performances, generally speaking, allow the singer much more freedom of expression, and it's wonderful to do a role in concert when you did it before on stage and it's [already] alive in your head as it becomes more concentrated and focused." Hancock admires Gluck's


MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

work. To begin with it has "a pretty good source material, a story which is one of the first stories that was actually recorded in human history."

"Then you are dealing with

Greek tragedy, which is a very high kind of theater, and then you have Gluck who decided at this point in his writing to reform opera, to break away from the French baroque, to bring music and text more closely to each other."

And the baritone admires the fact that Gluck "has written here four principal roles and was pushing each voice to an uncomfortable place. It's exciting to use the voice where it doesn't often sit," he says.

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Not Making It

We're Leaner, Meaner and Going Nowhere Faster

By LOUIS UCHITELLE

FOR years, Americans have been told to place their hopes for a better standard of living in the huge investments in automation and computers and in the tens of millions of layoffs intended to make the nation more efficient and productive. And now there is a growing acknowledgment among economists and others that this strategy has not worked.

What this means, if that conclusion in fact solidifies as a broad consensus, is that many of the layoffs might have been in vain. After nearly 25 years of only minor increases in what economists call productivity, the great hope of an economy vigorous enough to raise just about everyone's income level is still just a hope.

Without rising productivity, an economy cannot really boom. Productivity is the amount, valued in dollars, that a worker produces in a given hour, using computers, or complicated machinery, or a telephone, or a hammer and wrench, or simply one's head and hands, working alone or in teams or on an assembly line. From the late 19th century until the early 1970's, productivity rose smartly most of the time, helped along by technological innovations. That made possible annual raises that, in effect, allowed millions of Americans to pocket ever-growing shares of their own rising output.

But since the early '70's, the improvements have been small: 1 percent annually

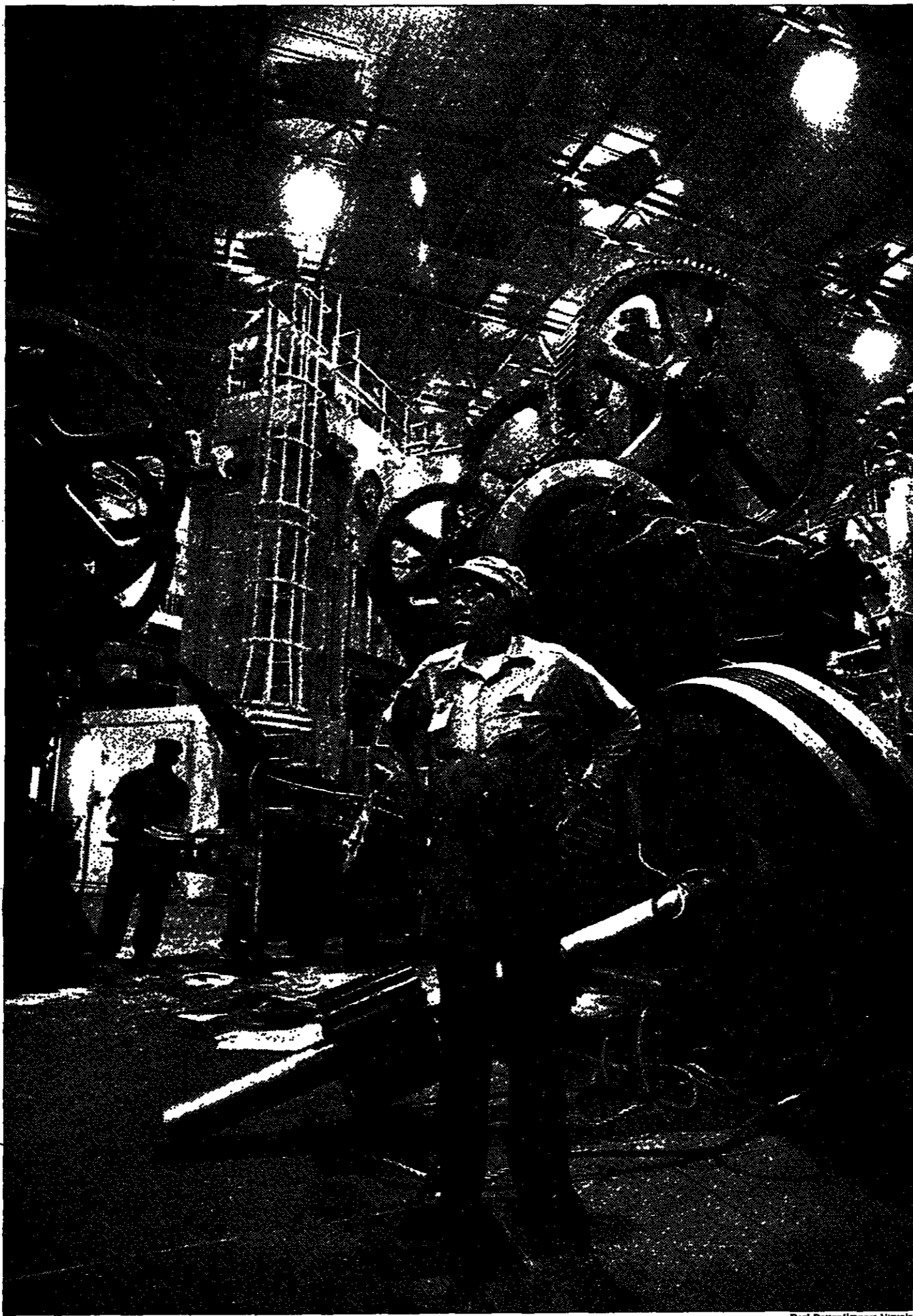
Why didn't layoffs and technology produce the benefits that Americans were promised for so long?

compared with nearly 2 percent or more in many earlier years. As a result, incomes for most people have stagnated. Achieving a breakthrough in productivity has become a national obsession. How-to books proliferate on the subject. Chief executives proclaim that at their own companies productivity is rising, and that is often true. But the nation as a whole has not made the leap, although both Bob Dole and Bill Clinton promise that their policies will do the trick.

"The hype about productivity has been much greater than the performance," said Robert M. Solow, a Nobel laureate in economics, reflecting a view widely held in his profession. "Maybe we have gotten so good at hype that the information revolution seems bigger to us than the electric motor seemed when it was invented. But the electric motor had a big impact on how many shirts you could sew in a day."

Industrial Winners

Many individual companies, of course, have become more productive. The formula of cutting staff and investing heavily in computerized equipment has paid off particularly in manufacturing, which enjoys a much greater productivity growth rate — more than 3 percent a year on average in the 1990's — than business as a whole. General Electric is a winner. So is the Chrysler Corporation. But what has happened at Chrysler sheds



The Kelsey-Hayes wheel manufacturing plant in Romulus, Mich., 1977: in the nation, the big slowdown had already started.

light on why innovative technology and downsizing, now or in the past, is probably not enough to make productivity rise for the entire nation.

Chrysler last year made 1.72 million cars in the United States, the same as in 1988, but with 9,000 fewer workers. The departure of those workers meant that the remaining 93,700 produced more cars per hour than in 1988. The rub is in what happened to the departed workers. Many apparently shifted to less productive jobs — in restaurants, perhaps, or offices or small companies now doing tasks as subcontractors that Chrysler no longer wants to bother with. Preparing the payroll is an example.

Cancel the New Car

These new, less productive jobs drag down the nation's productivity rate as a whole. And the workers draw lower wages, which makes them less likely to buy new Chrysler cars. Chrysler, for that reason, will be less likely to increase production. But if it could somehow sell 300,000 more cars, it might rehire the laid-off workers to staff a new factory or two.

That would put pressure on, say, restaurants that had been employing some of them. Rather than pay more to get enough workers, the restaurants might automate so that they, too, could function with smaller staffs. A modern-day version might emerge of Horn & Hardart, where customers inserted coins and small glass doors popped open, allowing the customers to withdraw hot baked beans

A breakthrough in overall productivity has become a national obsession. But it's not materializing.

or pie or a meat dish.

That was a form of automation dreamed up earlier in the century when rising wages for restaurant workers encouraged early fast-food restaurants to rely on labor-saving devices. Horn & Hardart needed only a handful of people to resupply the cubbyholes behind the glass doors, not the hordes at fast-food counters today.

But that raises a question. Was rising demand in this rapidly expanding nation the mother of innovations like the nationwide railroad system, the electric motor, the internal combustion engine, jet engines or plastics — innovations needed to help production keep pace with what people wanted to buy? Or does innovation come first, creating in supply-side fashion a demand for the things that some new invention like the computer can make possible?

Economists say they don't really know, although Alan Blinder of Princeton University notes that America's greatest period of productivity growth, from the mid-1940's through the 1960's, came after two decades in which consumer demand had been deferred, first by the Depression and then World War II. Invention, however, didn't slow during those years, Mr. Blinder says, and when demand was unleashed, the technology was there to help meet it.

What is certain is that productivity im-

Continued on page 3

The State of Welfare in Italy

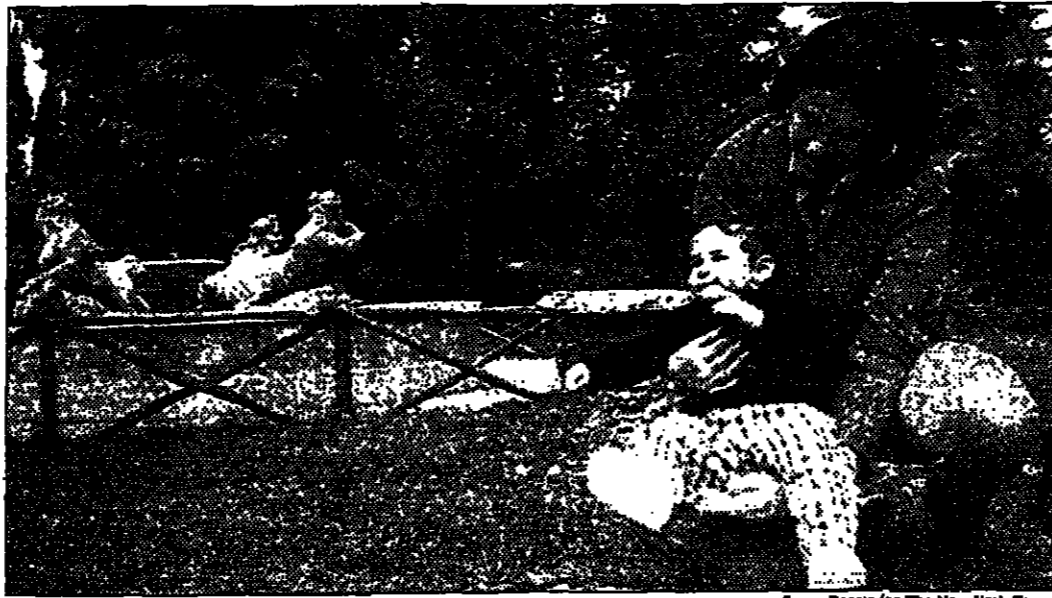
Where Every Day Is Mother's Day

By CELESTINE BOHLEN

OVER the last five years, a high school teacher here, 38 years old, has been on the job for only a year and a half, but has drawn a salary for all but a few months. Why? The answer to this riddle, laughably simple for any Italian employer, is: The woman is a mother with two babies who has taken full advantage of every last clause in one of Europe's most generous maternity leave packages.

"In both cases, I suppose I should have returned to work earlier than I did," said Carla Starita, a teacher of literature and philosophy and mother of Gesia, 4, and Elisa, 1, "but I think it isn't right to leave one's children after a few months. Many of my colleagues went back to work early and their children didn't die, but this was my time to have children, and I believe during those occasions, it is right to use all the opportunities that are offered to you."

Having babies is a serious business everywhere. But in Italy, working women are given the time to treat it almost like a job. Long paid leaves, combined with free medical care, are considered part of an Italian mother's birthright — one element of the safety net that middle-class taxpayers across Europe have both enjoyed and supported with very steep taxes for many decades now. In contrast to their middle-class counterparts in America, who by and large see social spending as money only for the poor. Now, however, as European governments feel



Alessandra Efratti, a store owner, with her 11-month-old daughter, Ludovica, in Rome.

the need to make their economies more efficient, as they try to unify their currencies and draw ever closer economically, Germany, France, Spain and Italy are finding that they must trim some of this web of social benefits. Just last month, France announced cuts in its health-care programs and Germany put forward a plan for cuts that could reduce its budget deficit by \$33 billion.

For Americans, the details of Italy's maternity policies offer a good example of the style of benefits Europeans have grown so attached to — worth a look not because they are in jeopardy, but because they are so sacred.

In France, maternity benefits have come under the gun. But in Italy, a country that feels

Continued on page 4

War Games

Child soldiers are just kidding themselves.

By Howard W. French



2

Uncivil Liberties

A Russian revolt looms — if the other guy wins.

By Michael Specter

4



Scandal at CIA

State Department documents reveal damning evidence against a paid CIA informer in Guatemala.

By Tim Weiner

3

The World

When the Gun Play Kills the Kids' Play

By HOWARD W. FRENCH

WHENEVER the gun battles for control of the downtown streets of this capital grow particularly fierce, the leaders of Liberia's warring militias, like commanders anywhere, decide that the fighting is just too intense to risk the lives of their most experienced men.

The leaders do not pull back and regroup, however. Instead, the battle for Monrovia, which has raged on and off for weeks now, becomes a bloody all-kid affair, as do similar battles in a growing number of conflicts around the world. Indeed, in certain places children are becoming as prominent in war as their parents.

In one of many such firefights last month, the adults took cover in the ruins of buildings or behind wrecked vehicles, sniping with their automatic rifles at anything that moved.

Meanwhile, boys, some no older than seven or eight, were sent out to dash through the streets, making obscene gestures and dancing, with the express purpose of drawing enemy fire.

Some of these children wielded AK-47's and rocket-propelled grenades with all of the fearsome skill of their elders. Others, seemingly content to merely play the decoy, ran about through the hail of bullets with putty guns and other harmless props, eager to prove their mettle and perhaps win a chance to belong.

Organizations like Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International say that no one knows when the practice of employing child combatants first emerged. Throughout history, they say, children have been used in wars in roles as varied as pack mules, water-boys and industrial laborers. The boy drummers of the American Revolution come immediately to mind.

Liberia Stands Out

Today, international human rights organizations are monitoring reports of the use of child combatants in countries as far flung as Burma, Sudan, Guatemala, Cambodia and Peru. "There are about 30 countries in which kids either are child soldiers now or have been in recent years," said Lois Whitman, director of the children's rights project at Human Rights Watch. "It has become a phenomenon mostly of civil conflicts, and typically it is the rebel forces who employ child soldiers."

But Liberia stands out even in this company, the human rights groups say, in the predominant role child fighters play in many battles.

In the relative calm that prevails at the end of each day of fighting here, the streets serve up evidence of the toll of this ghastly child abuse. Corpses, small and often frail, pile up only to be picked at by carrion birds and eventually burned by residents to rid the air of the stench.

The country's warlords, starting with Charles Taylor, who ignited the conflict here with an invasion in 1989, have used every imaginable tactic to obtain child fighters, from kidnapping children to feeding them drugs in order to still their fear and trap them in addiction. But it is also true that as for boys everywhere, guns and gunplay exercise a powerful attraction.

Near the Johnson Street Bridge in downtown Monrovia the other day, a boy soldier from Mr. Taylor's

National Patriotic Front, a kid not yet five feet tall who had been seen throwing himself fearlessly into battle all week, sobbed uncontrollably as an older boy disciplined him. The punishment was to have his rifle taken away.

Watching this scene in the nihilistic environment of Liberia, where those who pack the most firepower and grab the most booty are considered leaders, it was easy to imagine that for a rootless youth, no sanction short of death could be worse.

In this topsy-turvy society, the seductive power of the gun shows up in other ways too. Near Mr. Taylor's residence in the Congotown suburb of Monrovia, a journalist struck up a conversation with a bony 14-year-old who sat shyly on a wall watching with seeming envy as fighter friends chatted up teen-age girls passing by.

After a few moments, when extracting words from this withdrawn youth seemed like it was more trouble than it was worth, a terrifying transformation came over

In Liberia and elsewhere, when the going gets tough, adults send children to war.

him as he called his friends and said "watch me interrogate this foreigner."

For the next five minutes or so, occasionally leveling his gun for emphasis, the kid who had been too shy to talk much was both boastful and commanding as, with a smile playing on his face, he demanded of me: "What is your business?"

At moments like these, the powerful sense of authority and belonging that the war provides these children, many of them orphaned by the conflict, is readily apparent. But from time to time, a young fighter lets his guard down enough to let the steep costs of his mercenary life shine through too.

One such fighter, Lawrence Moore, had spent almost all of his teen-age years with the National Patriotic Front before fleeing Liberia for neighboring Ivory Coast last fall. Lawrence's story, which resembles countless others, make it painfully obvious that getting out of a militia is infinitely more difficult than getting into one.

After being discovered talking with me, a foreign journalist, in the streets of Monrovia last fall, Lawrence, now 20, was abducted by fellow N.P.F.L. fighters and taken to a bush prison near Mr. Taylor's longtime headquarters in the north-central town of Gbarnga. There, he was beaten daily during interrogations and told that he would be killed.

An Escape

Lawrence managed to escape with the help of a sympathetic N.P.F.L. commander who smuggled him to the Ivory Coast border town of Danané in the trunk of his personal car.

From there, Lawrence called me to say he had made his way to safety. But he had another message as well: "You've got to help me find my mother in the States," he said, choking back tears as he spoke on the



A Krahn ethnic group fighter at the gate of a surrounded barracks compound in Monrovia, Liberia, April 17.

telephone in his broken English of a long-lost mother who is herself a refugee in New Jersey. "If I ever go back to Liberia, those people will certainly kill me."

A few weeks later, Lawrence and his sympathetic commander, also 20 years old, made their first visit to Abidjan, the rich economic capital of Ivory Coast for their first glimpse at a modern city.

"Now I know why there is no war here," the wide-eyed commander said over his first restaurant meal. "The people have built so much they are afraid to destroy it."

Still bearing the welts from his torture, and com-

plaining of some untreated genital infection, Lawrence spoke only of the isolation of being cut off from the camaraderie of the militia and of being so close to his real family.

Lawrence called again early last month from Danané when fighting broke out anew in Liberia. On the telephone, he cried again as he recounted N.P.F.L. attempts to kidnap him, perhaps to bring him back into the fold and perhaps to kill him.

"This war has taken away my life," he said pitifully. "I can't trust anyone. I have no home, and it seems I have no future either."

Eat Your Heart Out, Walter Mitty

And You Thought the Age of Viceroy Was Over

By BARBARA CROSSETTE

VICEROYS are not what they used to be. But they are still with us. In a way.

Now that the age of empire is over, nobody goes by the name of viceroy, of course. But humdrum international bureaucracies and foreign ministries still do some of what glittering imperial courts once did — send out individuals with special titles and at least a little power, to mind the affairs of some troubled corner of the world.

These modern viceroys, however, have given up plumed helmets and military braid in favor of safari suits and baseball caps. They have traded in their stately coaches for jeeps, and their viceregal lodges and flower gardens for bungalows in dusty compounds.

The United Nations has a corps of at least 15 of them, called Special Representatives of the Secretary General, and even at \$140,000 a year (at most) they are as near to viceroys as one is likely to find these days.

One of the last of the old breed of viceroys, Lord Mountbatten, was a grandson of Queen Victoria sent to India by Britain in the 1940's to smooth the transition to a new era — the era of independence — after centuries of Mogul and British rule.

While he enjoyed all the pomp that went with being His Majesty's last Viceroy of India, in one important sense he was also a precursor of today's far less glamorous figures, who also preside over momentous changes. New viceroys often are installed in the wreckage of countries trying to start over after civil wars.

On the other hand, while some of these minor potentates still come from the former colonial ruling powers, others are the sons of those who were ruled: Shahrar M. Khan, a Pakistani now serving in Rwanda; Chintaya R. Gharekhan, an Indian who shuttles to the Middle East and Africa; Benny Widjono, an Indonesian in Cambodia.

Their powers vary. A few function as ambassadors-at-large, visiting and reporting on one trouble spot or another from time to time. Others are resident administrators, coordinating United Nations operations that range from peacekeeping to the delivery of emergency assistance or the holding of elections and the formation of new police forces and armies. They also smooth relations between the United Nations and a government that may need help



Old: Lord Mountbatten in India.

but isn't overjoyed to have the world poking around in its affairs. Now and then there is a temporary political vacuum or no government at all, and in such a case the Special Representative wields considerable power.

Jacques Klein, an American diplomat and former Air Force officer who now works for the United Nations, holds supreme military and civil authority over a tinderbox called Eastern Slavonia, a Serb-occupied part of Croatia due to be restored to Croatia's full control this year or next. Nobody has shouldered quite that kind of burden since Yasushi Akashi went to Cambodia when its long civil war ended in 1992.

We've Been Waiting

Mr. Akashi, who is Japanese, recalls stepping off a plane in Phnom Penh to be confronted on the tarmac by a solemn assembly of leaders from all the warring factions, as well as the entire diplomatic corps in Cambodia. There was an unnerving but palpable feeling in the air that Cambodians saw him



New: Yasushi Akashi, left, with Prince Sihanouk in Cambodia in 1992.

as the savior promised by mythology who would arrive on a white elephant to redeem the Khmer people. "We were not prepared for this kind of thing," he says.

The Special Representative is almost always a presence to be reckoned with, and a focus of hope for people so buffeted by events that they may not know where to turn within their own societies. During his two-year mission in Burundi, from November 1993 until late last year, Ahmedou Ould-Abdallah, the Mauritanian who has been credited by many with holding a volatile mix of Hutu and Tutsi together while neighboring Rwanda exploded in genocide, remembers people asking him to adjudicate family disputes and give advice on the most personal of problems. He believed that part of his job was to be a source and example of moral as well as political authority.

Dame Margaret Anstee — who dipped into the imperial terminology of Asia to describe herself as "a sort of top sarang" in Angola in 1992 and 1993 — was followed through Luanda's ramshackle streets by small boys shout-

ing "Margaret! Margaret!" In the press, she said, "I was front page all the time."

A Briton who was the highest-ranking woman at the United Nations before her retirement, Dame Margaret had unique worries when, as the lone female Special Representative at the time, she was asked to create enough calm for Angola to hold an election. For one thing, what should a woman in such a situation wear? She had a few safari suits tailored in London, to which she added United Nations patches to give herself a slightly military look. "I had to go out in the bush and shout at all these soldiers," she explained.

Weddings and Funerals

And how should she entertain while living on a military base among peacekeepers? "I took out my Austrian housekeeper from Vienna — at my own expense," she said. "It was important sometimes to get people around a table for a meal to discuss something, and it was important that these meetings be confidential."

The assignment is often to jump-start a land torn apart by war.

Mr. Ould-Abdallah, who also entertained at home, said that he enforced a rigidly correct private life on himself and his aides. He never stopped working. "To me, a mission is a religious term," he said. "You have to have a strict life style. You also have to be omnipresent. I never missed an important wedding or a funeral. I am a devout Muslim, but I attended every church commemoration just to show that I was there."

Some Special Representatives of the Secretary General do have a weakness for luxury and a taste for private planes and cars with leather upholstery, says a mole in United Nations procurement. But the days of actually getting such perks seem to be over, with the organization now teetering on bankruptcy. Unless, that is, the home country of the envoy feels sorry enough to bestow gifts on its far-flung hero (a practice also frowned upon at the United Nations but less easy to control). "The S.R.S.G. title inflates a lot of people," said the mole.

Some of the most successful United Nations missions have been led by Special Representatives who were not afraid to muscle in on local politics or to circumvent the international bureaucracy. As a consequence, some faced both death threats in the field and animosities at United Nations headquarters.

But Mr. Akashi, who went on from Cambodia to lead the ill-fated United Nations mission in Bosnia, is not one of those who advocates an intrusive political role for a Special Representative. Criticized for not razing Cambodia's Communist-dominated government departments to clear space for more democratic institutions, he looks back to another viceroy, this one from America, named Douglas MacArthur.

"In the back of my mind was the memory of the occupation of Japan, which was enlightened and generous and liberal," he said in an interview. "But some of the democratic policies were changed, some even abolished by subsequent, more conservative, Japanese governments — not because they were opposed to the policies, but because they were given to us by foreigners."

The Nation

Labor's Labors Not Lost

By STEVEN GREENHOUSE

IN the six months since John J. Sweeney helped throw out the A.F.L.-C.I.O.'s tired old leadership and became its president, the movement has sprung back to life, most obviously in politics but in old-fashioned organizing and image-sharpening, too.

Mr. Sweeney has pledged to spend \$35 million educating voters and getting out the vote. He has vowed to have 100 union activists working in each Congressional district next fall. And as part of the federation's new "union summer program," more than 1,800 young people, mostly college students, have applied for internships to campaign for pro-labor candidates and help organize workers.

By plunging the labor movement into politics as never before, Mr. Sweeney has got business lobbyists and political conservatives to snap to attention. And he hopes the nation's 118 million workers will pay more attention, too.

Labor's muscle-flexing has changed the political equation. It has fed Democrats' hopes of recapturing the House. It has pushed a minimum-wage increase to the top of the Congressional agenda. And it has thrown the Republicans on the defensive by attacking them in radio and television ads for opposing the minimum wage increase and seeking to cut Medicare and college loans. Indeed, this show of strength has led a dozen Republicans, including Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato of New York, to chastise House leaders for taking a harsh approach that might scare away union voters.

'Enormous Resources'

"The labor movement has enormous resources that until recently haven't been harnessed," said Andy Stern, the new head of the service employees union. "We're seeing what a change in leadership can mean for working people."

To be sure, many suggest that reports of

the movement's rebirth are greatly exaggerated. The number of union workers fell by 400,000 last year, and they now represent 14.9 percent of the work force, as against 35 percent in the 1950's. And unions are taking a shellacking in many places. A strike against the Detroit Free Press and Detroit News has now lasted 10 months. When 1,200 nursing home workers staged a three-day strike last month in Pennsylvania, their company, Beverly Enterprises, hired permanent replacements, costing 350 workers their jobs.

"Unions are still weak, and employers are not going to just sit there and let unions rebound," said Richard Hurd, a professor at the Cornell School of Industrial and Labor Relations. "Employers will still use what-

In organizing and politics, unions finally make some headway.

ever advantages they can over unions."

Mr. Sweeney has decided he has to fight two wars at once: in organizing and in politics. He fears that unless labor swells its ranks, it will have little power at the polls, and that unless labor increases its clout in Washington, Congress will pass laws making it harder to attract new members.

The A.F.L.-C.I.O. used to leave organizing to individual unions, even though all but a few neglected it. Now Mr. Sweeney is pledging \$20 million to recruitment efforts.

Those efforts are beginning to pay off. For example, the service employees union recently announced a major organizing victory in which 5,700 home health aides in the San Francisco area voted to join a union.

Labor's success in organizing, many experts say, will provide the real measure of its revival. "They represent just 10.4 percent of

workers in the private sector, and if they don't increase that over the next five years, it's difficult to be optimistic about the movement's long-run prospects," Mr. Hurd said.

Mr. Sweeney believes the public is ripe for labor's message because of anxiety about downsizing, wages and job security.

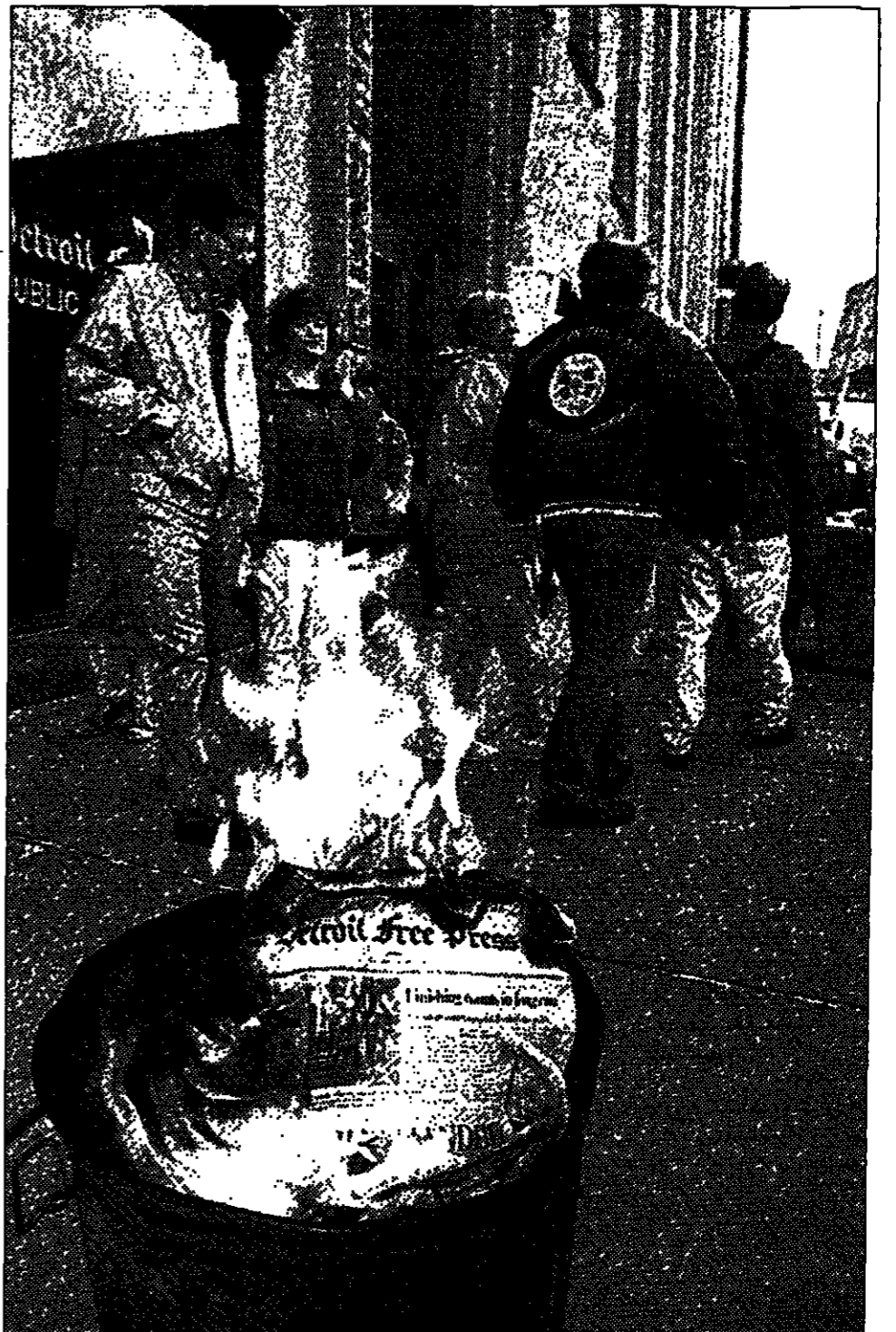
"Working-class Americans and their families are hurting as never before and we as a labor movement have got to respond as never before," he said.

Clearly, labor's resurgence is scaring its opponents. "The Washington labor bosses are a significant threat to the new Republican majority," said John Boehner, an Ohio Republican who is chairman of the House Republican Conference. "It's clear they want to buy back Congress and will do whatever they have to do to insure it."

Indeed, when Speaker Newt Gingrich was asked recently why the ratings for House Republicans have plunged, he said the cause was \$50 million in labor attack ads. Noting that the federation has spent only \$4 million so far on such ads, Steven Rosenthal, the A.F.L.-C.I.O.'s new political director, explained the Republicans' problems this way: "They have waged the worst assault on working families in 75 years, and people have gotten wise to it."

The labor movement's charm offensive does seem to be working. In a poll taken last month for the A.F.L.-C.I.O., the 1,200 respondents said they sided with unions over management by 44 percent to 24 percent. That 20-point margin compares with an eight-point margin three years ago. And 41 percent said they felt somewhat or very positive toward unions, up from 34 percent in 1993.

The A.F.L.-C.I.O. has also made a small, but significant, change in its vocabulary. Now, whenever the federation speaks about job safety or raising wages, it says it is speaking for all working families and not just union members. Indeed, the A.F.L.-C.I.O. has repeated the line so often that some labor leaders say, only half-joking, don't be surprised if it changes its name to the American Federation of Working Families.



The bad news is long strikes, like the one at The Detroit Free Press and Detroit News.

What the Widows Weren't Told

For the U.S., a Bad Bedfellow in Guatemala

By TIM WEINER

IN January 1995, the American Embassy in Guatemala learned a terrible secret. Col. Julio Roberto Alpirez, a paid informer for the C.I.A.'s Guatemala station from 1988 to 1992, was implicated in the murder of Efraim Bámaca, a captured guerrilla married to an American lawyer, Jennifer Harbury. Ms. Harbury had staged a highly publicized hunger strike in Guatemala in an effort to learn her husband's fate.

The colonel was also mixed up in the murder of an American, Michael DeVine, who with his American wife ran an inn in the jungle, near a base where the colonel served as a commander. The evidence was murky, but the colonel had at minimum tried to cover up the killing.

Senior United States officials agonized over what to do with the information. They did not share all they knew with the widows, for fear it would become public. But it did: Representative Robert G. Torricelli, a New Jersey Democrat and a member of the House intelligence committee, revealed it on March 22, 1995.

Last week, the State Department released thousands of pages of documents on human rights abuses in Guatemala. But more damning evidence about the colonel came to light in classified documents that the State Department gave only to Congress, and did not release to the public.

Excerpts from five classified papers, provided to The New York Times by a Government official, provide an unusual look at the struggle to deal with an impending scandal.

A Jan. 3, 1995, cable from the American Embassy to the National Security Council described intelligence reports about Colonel Alpirez.

A senior G.O.G. [Government of Guatemala] offi-



Jennifer Harbury staged a hunger strike in Guatemala City in 1994 to learn her husband's fate.

cial has heard that Alpirez was responsible for Bámaca's death. ...

By all reports, Alpirez is a bad egg. He is corrupt, a liar and has been negatively involved in matters involving human rights.

Alpirez seems to have more wealth than can be explained, there are rumors of past narcotics trafficking and he is tainted by being the Kabil base commander where Michael DeVine was killed.

... We must be very careful how we use this information, lest it take on a life of its own, no matter what later reporting shows.

This undated memorandum from Assistant Secretary of State Alexander Watson to Under Secretary of State Peter Tarnoff is titled "Complications in the JH case." JH stands for Jennifer Harbury, who was traveling to Washington to demand more information on the case.

The C.I.A. reported on 1/26 that a reliable source informed it that Colonel Alpirez killed Bámaca, husband of JH. Unfortunately Alpirez was a C.I.A. asset when he was alleged to have killed Bámaca.

The C.I.A. sought to cease its relationship with Alpirez in Nov. 1991, before Bámaca's killing, because of his involvement in another well-known human rights case, the murder of American citizen Michael DeVine. However, the Justice Department apparently asked the C.I.A. to remain in contact with him in case Alpirez could provide information about the DeVine case, and he did not officially leave the C.I.A. payroll until June 1992. Alpirez never told his C.I.A. handlers about the Bámaca case, and his role was discovered only recently by a longstanding source. ...

The C.I.A. is very concerned about the safety of their source, so any approach to the Guatemalan Government will have to be handled very carefully. Finally, we would have to decide how to convey this information to the Intel committees and then possibly to JH. Given the leaks which have plagued this case, it is almost certain that Hill staffers will inform JH of this info.

An unsigned memorandum, written by an unidentified official, from Feb. 9, 1995:

The U.S. Embassy should have a plan of action to deal with Colonel Alpirez in the event that there is a major public news story identifying him as a C.I.A. agent who killed the husband of a U.S. citizen.

In that eventuality, Colonel Alpirez's life may very well be in danger.

The man implicated in two murders was on the C.I.A.'s payroll. What to do?

A March 23, 1995, memo to Toby Gati, chief of the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, described a 1991 C.I.A. report implicating Colonel Alpirez in the DeVine murder. A senior C.I.A. official says that the 1991 report was "seriously flawed" — but that "the Agency believed it" at the time.

Alpirez participated in the army cover-up of DeVine's murder. However, the evidence that he had a direct role in the murder itself is weak. A single 1991 clandestine report by a source "whose past reporting is insufficient to establish a degree of substantiation" indicates that Alpirez was present when DeVine died while undergoing interrogation at a base under Alpirez's command.

Ambassador Marilyn McAfee cabled Secretary of State Warren Christopher on March 24. She referred to low-ranking Guatemalan soldiers jailed in the DeVine case:

Alpirez may very well be guilty of DeVine's murder, but there is a need not to paint ourselves into a corner. Naming Alpirez could lead to legal challenges of those already convicted.

Colonel Alpirez, cashiered in February 1996 by President Alvaro Arzu of Guatemala, never has been convicted of a crime. The United States Government never has officially acknowledged his role in the killings.

Leaner, Meaner and Going Nowhere Faster

Continued From Page 1

Improvements have been minuscule for nearly 25 years, the longest such plateau since 1870. Many explanations are surfacing, with mass layoffs rising toward the top of the list, the explanation being that they destroy loyalty, job stability and continuity, increasingly recognized as ingredients of productivity. The American Management Association, in its surveys, finds that a majority of companies that cut staff have failed to increase productivity a year or two later.

Others, like Stephen D. Oliner, a Federal Reserve economist, note that despite the national love affair with computers, they represent only 2 percent of the net investment by business, and an even smaller percentage of all the machinery, equipment and buildings business owns. That is too small a percentage to make a difference in productivity. By comparison, early in the century railroads represented 18 percent of the capital stock.

Global competition and imports play a role, of course, in suppressing production by a company like Chrysler. More broadly, argues Jeffrey Madrick, an economics writer, in the recent book "The End of Afflu-

ence," America's great skill at mass production gave it an edge over other industrial nations, an edge now lost in an era of smaller production runs and open markets.

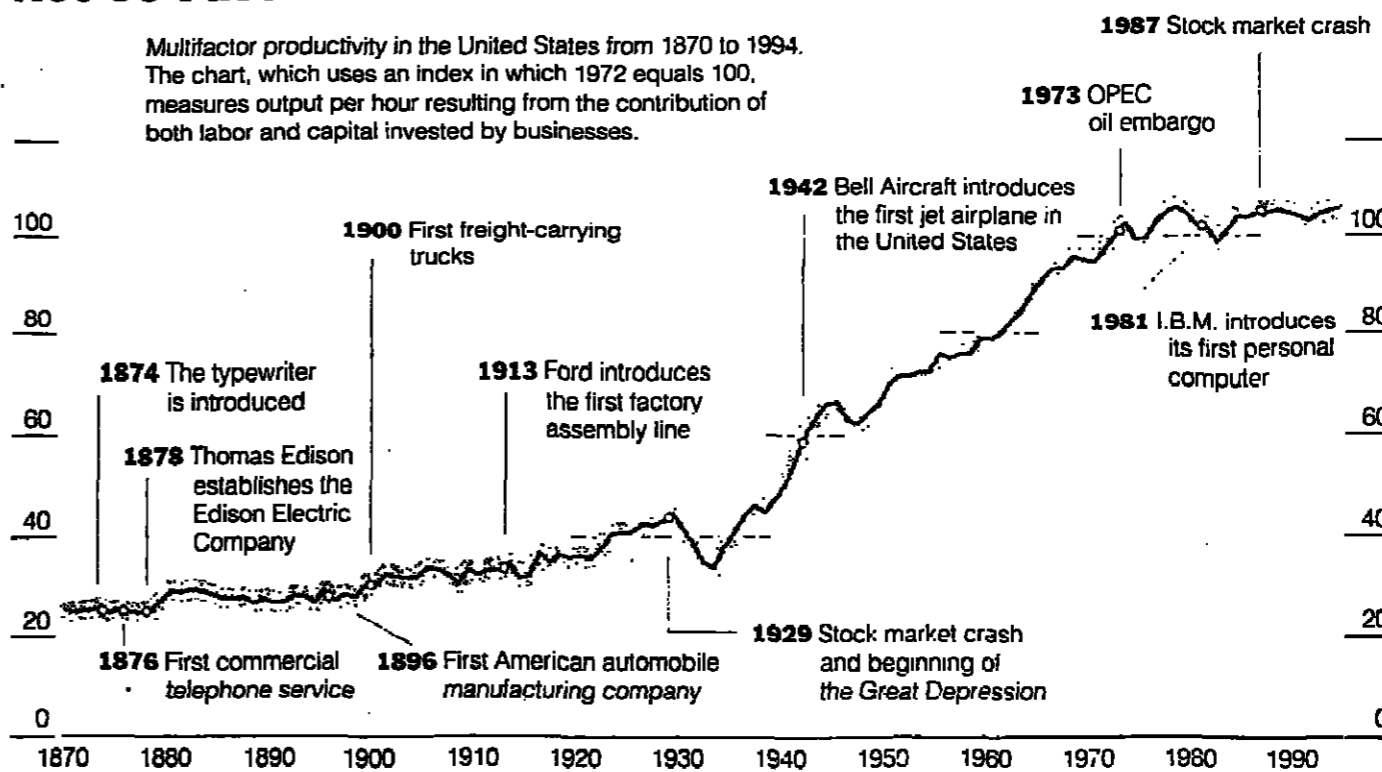
Such talk raises the possibility that the era of rapidly rising productivity may be over, not only here but in other major industrial nations. Mr. Dole and Mr. Clinton reject that proposition, insisting instead that their particular prescriptions will restore the patient; Mr. Dole urges lower taxes and less regulation, Mr. Clinton training, education and public investment.

Most economists are similarly unwilling to throw in the towel. Some argue that demand would rise, and with it productivity, if only the Federal Reserve would lower interest rates to stimulate the economy. Others call for more public investment. And Paul David, a Stanford economist, believes that in time, computers will be as much a source of rising productivity as the electric motor in its day, and patience is in order until computers begin to pay off.

After all, Mr. David notes, a quarter century elapsed before the electric motor transformed the workplace. Perhaps something like that will be the case for computers. And perhaps not.

Not So Fast

Multifactor productivity in the United States from 1870 to 1994. The chart, which uses an index in which 1972 equals 100, measures output per hour resulting from the contribution of both labor and capital invested by businesses.



Source: Robert J. Gordon, Department of Economics, Northwestern University

The World

The Catch Phrase Is 'Civil War'

By MICHAEL SPECTER

WORRIED that Russian peasants might put peace before principle and refuse to join a Slavic uprising, Dostoyevsky wrote bitterly in 1877 about leaders who were always preaching "philanthropy and humaneness," and lamenting that "in the course of war we may grow more bestial and defiled."

"Yes, of course, war is a calamity," he continued, noting however that "bourgeois morals" were far more dangerous than bloodshed for the future of Russia. Nothing is more moral, he concluded, "than the exploit of bloody self-sacrifice for everything that we regard as sacred."

Invoking a Real Horror

That may be true, but the possibilities of civil war horrify the average Russian even more these days than ever before — perhaps because grim death has so completely shaped their century. That, no doubt, is why every candidate running for president here — from President Boris N. Yeltsin to Viktor Anpilov, the leader of the Communist Working Russia party (far more hard-core than the Communist Party itself) — has felt the need to warn voters that if the elections produce the wrong winner a civil war will surely follow.

The wrong winner, of course, would be anyone but the guy doing the talking.

Mr. Yeltsin, rejecting his closest aide's public assertion last week that the elections should be put off, nevertheless pointedly noted that his aide, Maj. Gen. Aleksandr V. Korzhakov, was "not alone in thinking" that a Communist "victory would start a civil war."

"But I still believe in the wisdom of Russian voters," Mr. Yeltsin added.

Russians know upheaval. That's why it's the red-button issue of the campaign.

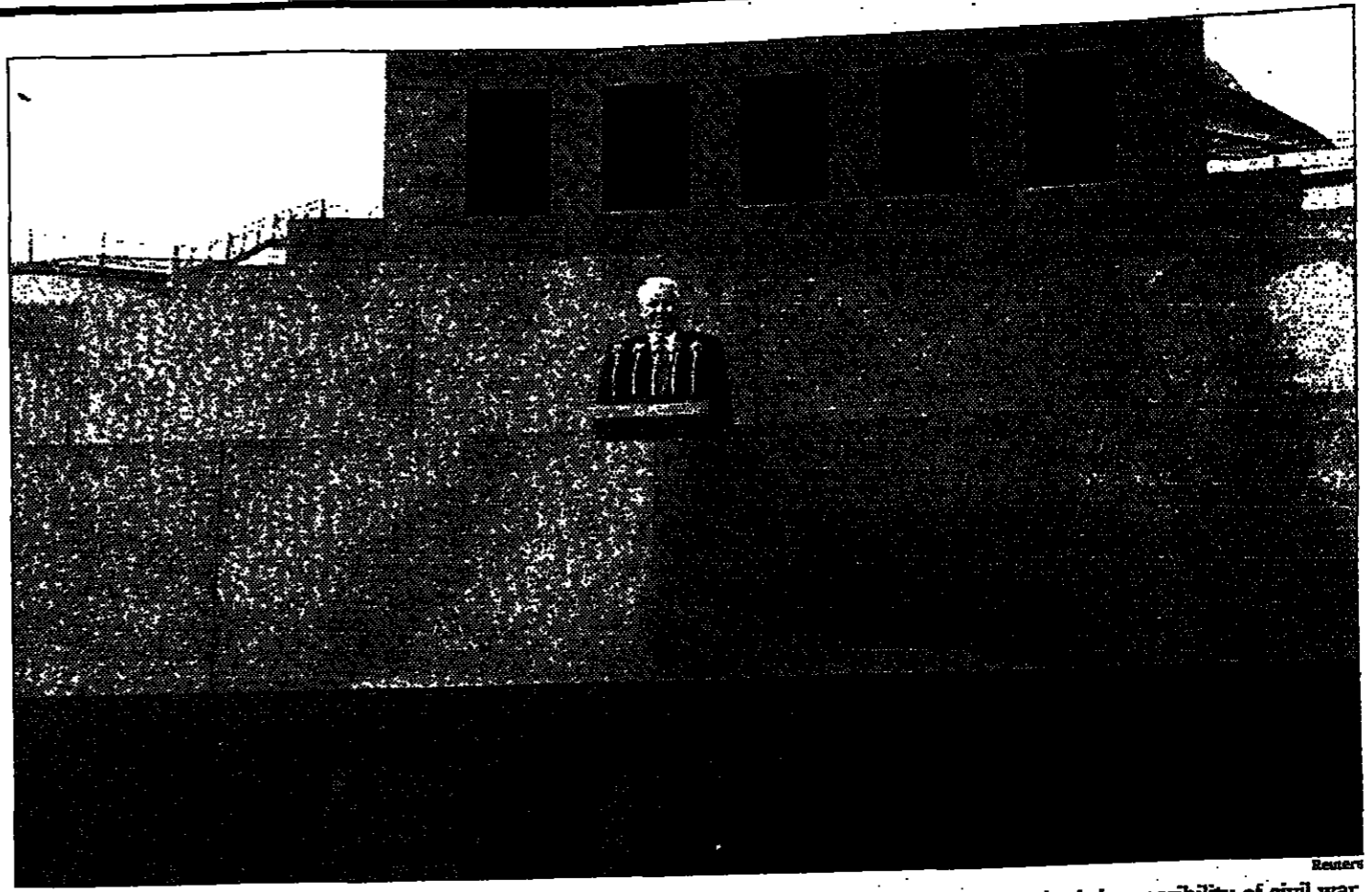
The next day, the head of the Moscow Military District, Maj. Gen. Leonty Kuznetsov, threw in with General Korzhakov. "We've talked more than once about what the upcoming elections could turn into," General Kuznetsov said, apparently not as sure of the people's wisdom as is his commander in chief. "And we always come to the same conclusion. Elections could lead to civil war."

For his part, the crusty nationalist candidate, Gen. Aleksandr I. Lebed, says, "I'm going to the election in order not to allow a civil war" — presumably an appeal to voters who admire his strong sense of law and order.

"I warn you that if such a decision were taken," the Communist Party leader, Gen. Vladimir L. Lukin, said last week about the possibility of postponing the vote, "the situation would be worse than in Chechnya. It would be a civil war."

'Central Importance'

This is of course the ultimate attack ad. What could more effectively stir the fearful souls of a country that has lost tens of millions to civil war and regular war in this century than a promise of a new war soon? For people in the United States, the American Civil War is a distant historical truth that helped shape a nation. But for Russians educated in the Soviet school system, the Civil War, the one fought in Russia between



President Yeltsin speaking in Red Square last week. He and others in the election campaign have raised the possibility of civil war.

1918 and 1922, is a fundamental fact of life. It is still almost too hot to touch.

"It doesn't take a historian to understand the central importance that the threat of civil war has for people in this country," said Sergei Ivanov, a senior research associate in Byzantine history at the Institute of Slav Studies here. "In our country this is not a theoretical problem."

Mr. Ivanov said if one looked carefully at Russian history he could spot many civil uprisings — the Time of Troubles in the 17th century, for example, then Pugachov's Rebellion more than 100 years later, then the revolt of the Decembrists in the 19th century. All of those events were painful, even wrenching, but there was nothing fundamental, nothing that caused a true social revolution until 80 years ago.

That he and others argue, is because power and wealth were concentrated in fewer hands than they were in European nations farther west. The chance for division and faction came late to Russia. But when it did

Is a new conflict near? 'We have had one and nobody needs another.'

arrive it appeared with a vengeance. "That is why what happened here with the Bolsheviks came as such a shock," he said. "People still feel the turbulence."

That would explain why most voters say they want stability above all in the coming years, and why they are going to select the man who they think is most likely to provide it.

So pretty much the only thing the major candidates have in common is their desire to portray themselves as the sole agent of

stability. Mr. Yeltsin repeatedly says a return to Communism will be a trip back to a time of great national fear, anger and uncertainty. Mr. Zyuganov tries to point out that there has rarely been more uncertainty than exists in Russia today and that what is called for, above all, is a steady hand on the tiller. To outsiders it seems like hyperbole. But when 13 powerful Russian businessmen wrote that the "scrimony" between Mr. Yeltsin and Mr. Zyuganov is such "that the one who wins will be able to govern only by embarking on a path leading to civil war and the disintegration of Russia," people here took them seriously. Mr. Zyuganov met with them within two days of receiving their letter, and President Yeltsin begged for calm.

"There will be cases of extremism," said Vladimir Vinogradov, Director General of the Nizhny Tagil Metallurgical Plant, speaking last week at a business forum in Moscow. "But we cannot have another civil war. We have had one and nobody needs another."

Italy's Welfare State

Where Every Day Is Mother's Day

Continued From Page 1

particularly protective about motherhood, especially now in a period of declining birth rates, it is a different matter. In Italy, challenging maternity benefits is still regarded as political death — even though the Italian state bears more of a direct burden than most other countries do.

According to a law adopted in 1971 and amended many times since, pregnant women here are obligated to take off the last two months of pregnancy and the first three months following the birth — for a total of five months during which they receive full salary, 80 percent of it paid by the state.

And that bundle — which is about par for the course in continental Europe — is not all. Where Italy breaks ahead of the pack is with its options: Once the baby is three months old, a working mother (father too, in certain cases) can choose to stay out for another six months at 30 percent salary, courtesy of the state.

Altogether, mothers can stay off the job for a year after their child's birth, with only

Whatever the budget, in Italy attacking maternity benefits is like attacking motherhood itself.

the last three months without salary. Last year, the Italian state paid 1.425 trillion lire — \$900 million — in maternity leaves.

There are also benefits that are not written in legislation, but simply sanctioned by tradition. For instance, women with risky pregnancies are entitled, with the appropriate doctor's certificate, to take all nine months of pregnancy off. Likewise, mothers suffering from depression, or mothers whose babies require special care can get other doctors' certificates, entitling them to stay away from work for up to three years. (In these cases, salaries are not automatically guaranteed.)

With loopholes like these, it follows that they are exploited, particularly by women working in the Italian state bureaucracy, where employee rights are as sacred as motherhood itself. Dr. Cristina Damiani, a gynecologist/obstetrician in Rome, notes that at least half of her patients have claimed so-called risky pregnancies right from the first trimester. "Many women take advantage of this extended leave," she said, "and doctors find it difficult to deny it to them, because they could spontaneously abort tomorrow and then it's nothing but trouble."

Extensive leaves have also become trouble for women themselves, though. Smaller companies have been known to make young women sign blank resignation forms upon hiring. One journalist noticed that a bank in her home town recently refused to accept women candidates for a job opening, and Italian trade union representatives say they



Chiara Amato, an insurance agent, with her 8-month-old daughter Gaia in Rome.

have seen an increase in part-time, contractual work that effectively puts young employees in their child-bearing years at greater risk.

But attempts to amend, even criticize, Italy's maternity laws are politically dangerous, as the newspaper *Il Giornale*, the journalistic mouthpiece of the Italian right, found out when it dared criticize the system. "In the end, so much coddling can turn against the same women who now lament both the negative effects that a long maternity leave can have on their career as well as the diffidence with which all those who wear a skirt are seen," the paper said in an editorial.

Il Giornale's offensive against the maternity leave system was taken as just that by

a wide swath of society, from die-hard Communists on the left, to Alessandra Mussolini, a legislator who is also the granddaughter of the dictator, on the far right.

"Do we want to throw the social state away," asked Ms. Mussolini, a member of the National Alliance, and a new mother herself. "It's true, social consciousness has some costs. But it is unthinkable that the cuts must begin with maternity benefits."

Like virtually all European countries, Italy has free medical care — which in the case of pregnant women and new mothers, covers everything from ultrasound screening to breast pumping machines. The drawback of the public health care system for some mothers is that it doesn't allow a choice — of either gynecologist, obstetrician, hospital or

Helping Moms Be Moms

National policies for maternal leave vary widely in length and salary provisions.

Italy 22 weeks*

Mothers are required to take off two months before and three months after childbirth. For risky pregnancies, they can take off the entire period of pregnancy. During maternity leave, most women receive full salaries: 80 percent is covered by social security and 20 percent is paid by employers.

Britain 18 weeks

Women are entitled to a maximum of 18 weeks of leave, which can begin any time between the 11th week before the expected delivery date and the week the baby is due. During maternity leave, women are entitled to all normal employment benefits except for salary. Most female workers get weekly benefits from their employers of up to 90 percent of their average earnings for 6 weeks and about \$85 for the next 12 weeks. For other women, social security provides weekly payments of up to \$85 for 18 weeks.

France 16 weeks

Mothers get 6 weeks before and 10 weeks after childbirth for their first and second children. After that, they get 8 weeks before and 18 weeks after delivery. They may take another six weeks in the event of health complications. They get full pay: 95 percent is paid by social security and 5 percent by employers in most cases.

Germany 14 weeks

Women are entitled to six weeks before and eight weeks after childbirth. They get 12 weeks after delivery in the event of multiple births. During maternity leave, women receive full pay: national health insurance pays about \$16 a day for 30 days and the employer pays the rest.

U.S. 12 weeks

Under the 1993 Family and Medical Leave Act, which covers workers at companies with 50 or more employees, mothers and fathers are entitled to 12 weeks of unpaid leave to care for a new baby, biological or adopted. But actual maternity benefits vary widely: at most large companies, women get paid maternity leave of six to eight weeks, and most women take a total of 10 to 12 weeks away from their jobs. The benefits arise not from any national family policy but rather as part of disability insurance programs designed to replace a portion of pay lost from temporary disabilities. The Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978 requires employers to treat maternity-related disability the same as any other temporary disability.

* May vary slightly because policy is stated as five months instead of in weeks.

The New York Times

pediatrician — which is why many who can afford to do so have their babies in private clinics, at extremely high costs.

But given the range of free benefits, the marvel is that more Italian women aren't having more babies. In fact, the reverse is true. Italy's birth rate has been in decline for several years and many women note that while the Italian state is diligent about encouraging working women to have babies, it is inadequate in helping mothers take care of them and work at the same time.

"This is really an historic problem," said Franca Fossati, a former editor of the women's magazine *Noi Donne*, and a consultant to a government Equal Opportunity Commission. "Italy is primarily a Catholic country — a Catholic and a Communist community, where the policy on maternity has been protectionist. As a result, there is a strong policy on maternity leave, but other things don't follow."

For instance, public day care or nursery schools for children up to 3 years old are

rare and access is limited only to the most needy — except in some regions, like Emilia Romagna, where local government has been under the control of the Communists or their successors for decades. By the time a child is 3, the public education system kicks in: An estimated 90 percent of children between 3 and 6 are in "scuola materna," the state-supported kindergartens.

According to Patrizia Ghedini, the Italian representative on the European Union Commission Network on Infancy, only 5 to 6 percent of Italian children under 3 years old are in nursery schools, compared to the 20 percent who attend "crèches" in France.

"It is an indication that there continues to be a perception of women as being the caretakers of young children," said Ms. Ghedini. "Even with the greater number of women entering the work force, there is no parallel development of child care structure because the society at large still thinks that women should take on the burden of raising children themselves."

Provocation reduces murder to manslaughter

In the Supreme Court, sitting as a Court of Criminal Appeals, before the president, Justice Aharon Barak, and Justices Elyahu Mazza and Dalla Dornier, in the matter of Maurice Azuelos, appellant, versus the State of Israel, respondent (Cr.A.3071/92).

MAURICE AZUELOS and his wife Sara, who were married for many years, became friendly with their neighbors, Eliahu and Shoshana Ankova.

In about January 1991, when Sara Azuelos had not returned home by midnight, Azuelos found her with Ankova in the latter's home.

Azuelos then asked his wife to stop visiting the Ankovas. She refused, claiming she had to help Ankova, for payment, in preparing jewelry.

Azuelos nevertheless persisted in his demand that she stop her visits, and she then asked for a divorce.

On the night of June 12, 1991, Azuelos went to his home, but his wife was not there. He then went to the Ankovas' home.

He questioned her about her behavior, but she waited until Ankova returned. The two men quarreled and cursed each other.

LAW REPORT ASHER FELIX LANDAU

turned around and stopped opposite him. Ankova took hold of Azuelos's wife, embraced her, kissed her on the mouth, and said to Azuelos, "this is the truth - go take a running jump!"

Azuelos saw red. He took his revolver, for which he had a license and which he usually carried with him, cocked it, and fired into the car, killing both occupants.

He surrendered to the police and was charged in the Nazareth District Court with murder. He pleaded provocation and submitted he was guilty only of manslaughter.

JUSTICE BARAK delivered the judgment of the court. Section 300(2) of the Penal Law of 1977, he said, defined murder as, inter alia, causing the death of any person with premeditation.

It was for the prosecution, he continued, to prove the absence of provocation, and the precedents recognized two tests for gauging this factor.

The objective test required the court to form a theoretical opinion as to whether the average person, in the defendant's situation, would have lost control and committed the fatal act.

The subjective test created difficulties, but all agreed that provocation close to the fatal act negated the criminal intent necessary for murder, even if the defendant intended to kill.

severely criticized, and was now unacceptable in most countries, including England, from which it was introduced into our law.

The District Court, he said, applied both tests and ruled against Azuelos in each of them.

The same applied, he said, to the objective test. The circumstances in the present case were exceptional.

Any ordinary person, in the same situation, would have reacted as he did, spontaneously, and without self-control.

For the above reasons the appeal was allowed, Azuelos's convictions for murder were set aside, and he was convicted of manslaughter.

Arye Licht appeared for Azuelos, and Micky Cheslin, senior assistant state attorney, appeared for the State.

The court file reference in last week's report should have read "H.C.6679/95," and not as printed.

Animal stars have rights, too

A STUNT man rode a horse off a 20-meter cliff into white water. The stunt man survived. The horse did not.

The public outcry was such that the AHA established an office in Hollywood the following year and worked out an agreement with the Motion Picture Association of America.

Then, in 1979, in the making of a movie called Heaven's Gate, a horse was blown up.

AHA organized a national boycott of the film and public outrage led to the reinstatement of the AHA's authority in the 1980 Actors-Producers Collective Bargaining agreement.

"We were on 411 sets last year, and at 102 sets last month alone," said Jim Moore of the AHA's Los Angeles office.

With animal-tronic technology, Moore said, "You have electronic animals that look and move exactly like real animals and digitally produced animal effects."

"That really makes our job easier. You don't have the elephant thrown out of the plane," as in the bad old days, he said, but you can still have an elephant-parachute scene.

The AHA's mission is that no creature should be harmed for the sake of entertainment. Its reps take seriously the words "no creature" - lions and tigers, bugs to bears, dogs and horses, big elephants to little cockroaches, no exceptions.

AHA rep Nan Stuart's beat is the Rocky Mountain region, where photogenic creatures abound. Her office is in Denver. She has been passionate about animal welfare all her life.

A lot of times the directors want the animal to do something it can't possibly do - like having a bear topple over backwards," she says.

How far will an AHA rep go to protect all creatures great and small? Jim Moore of Los Angeles recalls a recent filming in which 50 trout were used for one scene and were on the set three to four days.

"The rep was making sure the water was changed and kept at the proper temperature," he said.

"Same even goes for cockroaches."



If real elephants cannot disco dance, then humans in elephant costumes will have to do. Here, a scene from 'The Tall Guy.'

Scientists say experiments on pigs are kosher

SCIENTISTS have known for a long time that when it comes to studying some of the important systems of the human body, the pig is the best laboratory animal for this purpose.

Let's face it, we humans have a closer resemblance to pigs than we do to most other animals and when it comes to our digestive systems we are a lot more like pigs than we are like chimpanzees or other primates.

Add to this that while orangutans and chimpanzees or gorillas, in fact even lower monkeys, are rare and expensive, pigs are not.

For this reason a lot of time and effort has been spent on the production of the; by now common, mini-pigs and they have been successful.

But now British scientists and animal rights activists have squared off for a new round of battles in the long-standing war between those who see some types of animal exploitation as a solution for pressing human problems and those who say that the utilization of animals for human needs is immoral.

Some environmental groups are also now backing the animal rights groups. This time the controversy centers around Astrid, the first transgenic pig. When Astrid was no more than a fertilized ovum, her cells were injected with human DNA in the hope that Astrid's genetic make-up would be close

HEADS 'N TAILS D'VORA BEN SHAUL

enough to the human to create immunological compatibility. This would allow organ transplants into humans that would be less likely to be rejected by the human body.

Astrid, a "test-tube baby" piglet, was born in December four years ago and now she is a healthy young sow. Tests conducted so far show that the "pig with the human heart" - as she has been dubbed by the British press - may well be living up to the expectations of the scientists who produced her.

"There is no doubt," said scientists working at a secret location in Cambridgeshire in England, "that transgenic pigs are far more compatible with humans than are ordinary pigs. The factor of hyper-acute rejection seems to be absent and that is a serious factor."

However, the value of perfusion tests, which are the only tests done so far, wherein human blood is perfused through the heart of the donor animal, are limited in their scope and no one will really know the full results until the time comes when they can actually attempt a transplant.

This, it now appears, will happen later this year when a liver and a heart from one of Astrid's progeny

will be experimentally transplanted into a human recipient.

Because of the acute shortage of donor organs throughout the world, surgeons dream of xenotransplantation producing a range of transgenic animals for transplants and for treatment.

This is particularly true since the use of embryonic human tissue is so controversial, even though it is extremely promising in the treatment (or even cure) of several diseases, including Parkinson's disease and juvenile diabetes.

But the use of transgenic animals is only marginally less controversial. So vociferously have animal rights activists opposed this new step that Astrid's location is being kept secret and those who created her maintain unlisted telephone numbers and have adopted precautions for the protection of themselves and their families.

British environmentalists, while less outspoken on the issue, feel that transgenic animals might somehow enter into the biotope occupied by other animals and pollute the native gene banks. Their objection is not to Astrid, per se, but to bio-engineered species in general.

One thing of interest here is that no one has yet reported the reaction of the rabbinate or the Islamic authorities to the idea of such transplants, but it can be safely predicted that they will soon have something to say about the matter.

Advertisement for the book 'And I Shall Dwell Among Them Historic Synagogues of the World' by Neil Folberg, featuring a photograph of a synagogue interior and contact information for the publisher.

Advertisement for the 'זמן ירושלים' Arts & Crafts Fair, held on Thursday, May 16, at the Center for Conservative Judaism.

Advertisement for the awarding of the Celia and Marcos Maus Annual Prizes in Computer Sciences at Tel Aviv University.

A decorative graphic box containing the text 'In these times you cannot AFFORD to be without THE JERUSALEM POST'.

Advertisement for the Third Annual Tantur Conference on Religion and Culture, held on May 14-16, 1996, with a detailed schedule of events and speakers.

Key Representative Rates
US Dollar NIS 3.2220
Starting NIS 4.0341
Mark NIS 2.1275
Comex gold closes lower
COMMODITIES ROUNDUP

Bonn sees '97 tax shortfall of DM71.5 billion

NETTETAL, Germany (Reuter) - German officials said yesterday that the estimated tax revenue shortfall this year for Germany would be DM 26.5 billion and NIS 71.5b. in 1997 - below projected figures of May 1995.

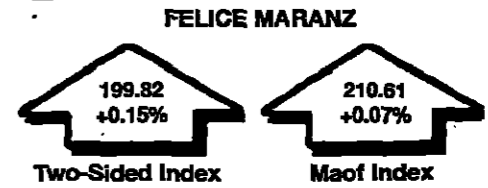
lines of the meeting. Edmund Stoiber, the state premier of the state of Bavaria, said the tax revenue shortfall for the federal budget, the regions, local governments and the European Union would be DM 26.5b. this year. He put tax revenue shortfall at DM 23b. this year, not including a special tax income for the European Union.

Minister Theo Waigel's proposed tax cuts for 1997. Kohl's spending plan seeks to cut federal spending by DM 25b. next year and envisages scaling down the welfare state, including cuts in sick pay and other benefits.

The savings program, which aims to rein in runaway budget deficits to make Germany eligible for a single European currency, will slash Bonn's welfare spending, delay planned new benefits and deny civil servants a pay rise for two years.

Gains in Teva offset other market losses

TEL AVIV STOCK MARKET



STOCK indexes rose yesterday as gains in Teva Pharmaceuticals Ltd. offset losses prompted, in part, by fund redemptions. The Two-Sided Index rose 0.15 percent to 199.82 and the Maof Index went up 0.07% to 210.61.

US Food and Drug Administration approval to manufacture bulk penicillin. Without Teva, the market would have gone down," said Zvi Stepak, managing director of Tel Aviv investment firm Meitiv Ltd.

HEAVY fund liquidation, caused by a rise in stock and bond prices, pushed the Comex gold market to its lowest close in over four months on Friday.

The June futures contract ended \$2.50 lower, closing at \$392.00 per ounce. The Comex silver market also saw losses on Friday, as stocks and bonds rose, fueled by tame US price data.

Comex copper futures ended on Friday with slight losses, as a sharp rise in LME (London Metal Warehouse) stocks and a possible end to the nine-day-old Chilean copper mine strike prompted some profit taking, traders said.

Volkswagen sues Opel, General Motors for defamation

DUESSELDORF (Reuter) - German carmaker Volkswagen AG said over the weekend it was suing US giant General Motors Corp and its unit Opel AG for defamation, escalating a three-year battle over alleged industrial espionage.

statements from GM and Opel at news conferences in Germany and the US after Opel and GM in March filed a civil action in the US against VW.

Kocks said the lawsuit aimed to force GM and Opel to prove their allegations or to withdraw them. Opel said it had not received any information about the lawsuit and said it was unable to comment.

EU to outline plans for reinforcing reform in Russia

BRUSSELS (Reuter) - The European Union, privately haunted by the specter of Boris Yeltsin losing the Russian presidential election in June, will outline plans today for helping Moscow stay the course of reform.

The plan is divided into five parts - helping democratic reforms, economic cooperation, cooperation in justice and home affairs, security and foreign policy.

Most EU countries have been bracing for the possibility of a Yeltsin defeat and the return of a communist leader in Moscow. Ireland, which takes over the EU presidency from Italy a couple of weeks after the election, expects Russia and the question of what will happen in Bosnia when NATO leaves, to dominate the bloc's business for the rest of the year.

Washington unilaterally imposed the blockade last year after branding Iran an outlaw state and accusing the oil-rich Islamic republic of sponsoring international terrorism.

The organization groups often fractious neighbors and spans several war zones, but members hope that promoting trade could help bring stability to a region of over 300 million stretching from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean.

Iran: US embargo fails, backs regional trade

ASHGABAT (Reuter) - Iran said over the weekend, ahead of the opening of a railway linking its gulf ports to Central Asia, that it had overcome a US economic embargo and the key to its future development lay in regional cooperation.

ECO has emerged from an economic group formed in 1977 by Iran, Pakistan and Turkey. It was expanded in 1992 to include the ex-Soviet Central Asian states of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, and Kyrgyzstan, along with Azerbaijan and Afghanistan.

The July cotton futures contract closed down 2.69 cents at \$2.75 cents a pound, after hitting the 3.00 cent limit down at midday on Friday. The loss was due to massive speculative selling, caused by bearish technical indicators, rain in Texas and increasing certified cotton stocks, traders said.

Table titled 'TEL AVIV STOCKS' with multiple columns for stock names, prices, and market indices. Includes sections for Multi-sided trading, Two-sided trading, and Morning market data.

'Kuwait wants British Aerospace missile'
KUWAIT (Reuter) - A newspaper reported yesterday that Kuwait would buy more than \$100 million worth of British naval missiles in preference to rival French weapons. Diplomats had no official confirmation of the Gulf state had made a final choice.

Bank of Japan aims to end state control
TOKYO (Reuter) - Japan's central bank will try to shed government control as part of a future revision of the 1942 Bank of Japan law, the Asahi Shimbun daily reported yesterday.

